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J. W. Jones, Jr.

TROY AND PAEONIA

TROY AND PAEONIA

WITH GLIMPSES OF
ANCIENT BALKAN HISTORY AND RELIGION

BY

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I DEDICATE THIS WORK TO

JANE ELLEN HARRISON

ONE OF THE GREATEST OF LIVING SCHOLARS

THE SPLENDOR OF WHOSE INTELLECT

IS EQUALLED

BY THE CANDOR AND GENEROSITY

OF HER SPIRIT

CONTENTS

Preface.		ix
Chapter I.	The God-built Walls and the Builder Gods	3
Chapter II.	Tribes of the Trojan Battle-Cry: Lykians and Sarpedon	17
Chapter III.	Tribes of the Trojan Battle-Cry: The Close-fighting Dardanians	38
Chapter IV.	Tribes of the Trojan Battle-Cry: The Horse-taming Trojans	57
Chapter V.	Trojan Names in the Iliad	69
Chapter VI.	Paeonia	83
Chapter VII.	Paeonian Sun-Worship and Medicine	98
Chapter VIII.	Helios-Hades, Paeon-Apollo, and Poseidon	111
Chapter IX.	Artemis the Queen	130
Chapter X.	Leto	151
Chapter XI.	Spinners of Pieria	157
Chapter XII.	The Averting of Evil: The Cock, the Sun, and Amber	169
Chapter XIII.	The Averting of Evil: Royal Names	181
Chapter XIV.	The Hyperboreans	196
Chapter XV.	The Northern Muses and Spirits of the Water	211
Index.		225

PREFACE

THE following pages contain the results of studies, to some extent already published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, the *Classical Quarterly*, *Classical Review*, *Classical Philology*, and the *Classical Journal*, dealing with the culture and religion of tribes belonging to the Balkans and the Troad in the centuries which are illuminated for us by the poems of Homer and Hesiod. It is as certain that the Iliad and the Odyssey bear the impress of poems that preceded them as it is that the art of the handworker of the time in which the Homeric poems were written is lineally descended from that of earlier potters, painters, decorators, and metal workers. And that the Iliad has a close relation to history has been made clear by the researches of Dr. Walter Leaf, from whose books, "Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography," and "Homer and History," all students of the Homeric poems have derived so much.

I have here attempted to follow threads of allusion in the poems and to discover what historical value there is, e.g., in the tribal epithets, the description of the movement of the Trojan fighting-men, the type of names borne by the Trojans and their northern allies, the references to horse-culture and horsemanship. I have endeavored to establish the connection of the Trojans and Dardanians and their Lykian, Maeonian and Mysian allies with Moesia, Dardania, and Paeonia in Europe, and to show the common inheritance of these tribes in their method of fighting, their knowledge of the horse, and their worship of the elements of nature that contribute most to the life and perpetuation of the tribe.

Again I have considered the nature-worship of the "Thrako-Phrygian" tribes from the indications in various

sources and have argued for the evolution of various deities from the worship of streams of water, from the presence or absence of the sun, and from the belief in the influence of the moon over vegetation and female reproductive life.

In the chapter entitled "Spinners of Pieria" I have discussed the significance of the characteristic work of women and the wool which they spun in the ritual of gods who give increase to fields and herds, and also the development from ritual of the Dionysiac ministrants, the Klondones, Mimallones, the Xantriae, and the Lenae. The two chapters on the Averting of Evil deal with superstitions which centre about the bird of the sun and the bright "stone of the sun," amber, and with the religious value of the apotropaic names given to kings and priests. The chapters on the Hyperboreans contain an account of recent discussion of this mythical folk, which has shown the confusion resulting from the failure to distinguish between the primitive myth, attached to the worship of Apollo and the routes which bore his cult north and south, and the astronomical and geographical use of the myth when it got into the hands of the early astronomers and geographers. The last chapter treats of the development of northern water-spirits who became the attendants of Apollo and muses of poetry and song.

In the chapters that are concerned with the nature worship and religious conceptions of these northern tribes it is evident that I owe much to the two great works on religion by Miss Jane Harrison, "Prolegomena" and "Themis," books which are an inexhaustible source of suggestion and inspiration. I must also acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Professor Gilbert Murray, who has given me freely of his invaluable time and interest. And I thank as well Professor J. A. K. Thomson of King's College, London University, for suggestions and criticism, the result of which appears in many places in the

book. Professor Edward Delavan Perry of Columbia University has kindly read the book in manuscript and a part of the proof.

Except where I have directly quoted, no one is responsible for the theories in the exposition except myself, and I have endeavored to give credit for all that I have derived from others. If there is in my discussion any unconscious plagiarism of ideas, it is perhaps inevitable in an investigation of this sort, which has involved the reading of many books and is the result of many intellectual contacts.

In the spelling of Greek names I am not more consistent than my contemporaries. When a name is firmly fixed in the English language, such as Aeneas, I have kept the established spelling. In other cases I have clung to the Greek spelling, though not so conscientiously as Browning who, in his desire to escape such monstrosities as the "Emperor Anthony Pie" and "Eyripides," transliterates the Greek always.

As my title indicates, the reader will find here only glimpses of the ancient Balkan history and religion. I shall be glad if in the judgment of those who are familiar with the subjects treated I shall have established and made clear some points in the history and culture of the tribes who built Troy and rebuilt it, who were, beyond a doubt, of the same racial stocks as our own European ancestors.

I have derived information and suggestions from many authors, to whom I trust I have given full acknowledgment in the references on and at the foot of the pages of this work. I may mention in particular Halliday's "Greek Divination," as one of the investigations which has been of the greatest value to me.

GRACE H. MACURDY.

Vassar College,
November, 1924.

CHAPTER I

THE GOD-BUILT WALLS AND THE BUILDER GODS

"Sing for the Great City
That falleth, falleth, to be
A shadow, a fire departed."

IN the background of the Iliad there is a great store of epic and legendary history from which the poet draws allusively, in the conversations of his heroes and his gods. This must have been "real" material, inherited from the past and the record of its songs, and not, as some have supposed, invented on the spur of the moment. It is in such a casual way, and not in direct narration, that the building of the walls of Troy for King Laomedon, father of Priam, by two gods, Poseidon and Apollo, is related, first in the seventh book, in the passage in which Poseidon tells Zeus of his fear that the fame of the wall which the Achaeans built in front of the Greek ships will overshadow that of the wall which Poseidon and Apollo toiled to build for the hero Laomedon.[1] Again the same god, in a different mood, reproaches Apollo in the twenty-first book for still befriending the descendants of the cheating and cruel Laomedon.[2] More detail is given in this place; the Water-God asks his nephew-god to "remember the hardships that we endured, we two only of the gods, when, sent by Zeus, we served the proud Laomedon for hire, as labouring men for one year for a fixed wage. He gave the orders that we must obey. I built the wall about the city for the Trojans —a wall wide and beautiful, that the city might resist all

[1] *Il.* 7, 445 ff. [2] *Il.* 21, 441 ff.

storming. You, Phoebus, tended the slow-winding herds of crook-horned cows on the slopes of Ida, in whose glens the tall trees grow. When the glad seasons brought the time for our payment, then fierce Laomedon cheated us of all our wage, and dismissed us with threats that he would bind you hand and foot and sell you in trading in isles far-away and he said that he would lop off the ears of both of us with his dagger. So we left him with bitterness in our souls, angry for the wage which he promised and did not pay."

These walls of the Trojans were so dear to the gods who built them that in order to save them Apollo and Poseidon[1] worked together to destroy the Greek wall before the ships by turning on it the force of all the rivers that flowed from Ida, the Rhesus, the Heptaporus, Caresus, Rhodius, Granicus, and Aesepus, the Scamander and the Simoeis. Phoebus turned the outlets of these to a single flood and let it wash upon the Greek wall for nine days, while the Earth-Shaker, trident in hand, destroyed the foundation of timber and of stones which the Achaeans had laid with hard labor. Apollo loved the towers of the walls of Troy and in the Iliad is often upon the top-most battlement watching the fighting in the plain. After the futile battle of the gods in the twenty-first book, in which he evades the challenge of his uncle, the god Poseidon, saying that it is not worth while to contend for the sake of mortals, whose days are like the leaf of the tree, now green and beautiful and now falling, he shows that love for the Trojans is alive in him by entering Troy to prevent "the wall of the well-built city" from being destroyed by the Danaans.[2] Poseidon, who is on the side of the Greeks, changes his allegiance only when the prestige of the wall of Troy is in question and in his intervention to save Dardanian Aeneas in the twentieth book.

[1] *Il.* 12, 17 ff. [2] *Il.* 21, 515 f.

Apollo, from the beginning of the Iliad to its end, is the god of the Troad and of Troy, ardent in the protection of his worshippers. His zeal for the Trojans is far nobler and more direct than the zeal for the Greeks displayed so bitterly by the two goddesses Athene and Hera. Apollo sends the pestilence on the Greek army in the first book because of the insult to his priest at Chrysa; and in the last book he pleads among the gods for the restoring to Priam of Hector's body, which he has kept fresh and fair in death, protected from all harm by the gold aegis. He is the most active god in the Iliad; and Ares himself, who is generally on the Trojan side, except when a Greek son of his is wounded, usually takes part in the actual battle only when urged and spurred on by Apollo. After the mention of Zeus in the Iliad—Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή, Apollo is the first god to be named and he is the last of the great gods whose name occurs in the poem.[1]

How is the legend of the building of the walls of Troy by Apollo and Poseidon and the connection of the two with the fortunes of the Trojan heroes to be explained? And with which of the various strata are the legends to be connected? Were the god-built walls those of Hissarlik II or the walls of the fifth and sixth strata?

The theory[2] has recently been proposed, supported by arguments drawn from ethnology and a consideration of the resulting effects of climatic conditions on tribal migrations, that the destroyers of "the castellated city of Troy, known as Hissarlik II" were invaders from the steppes, wandering tribes driven from south Russia by one of the intermittent seasons of drought that have so often changed the current of human history. According to this hypothesis, steppe-men of Nordic race, forced to seek new pasturage for their flocks and herds, took different routes, one con-

[1] *Il.* 24, 758 f.

[2] Peake, H., *J. R. A.* I, 46 (1916), 154–172; *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, pp. 74, 75.

tingent of them crossing the Danube, there dividing into two companies, one of which entered the great plain of Thessaly and the other crossed to the Troad and expelled the dwellers in the citadel of Troy, the evidences of whose wealth and commerce remain today in the great number of gold, silver, and bronze objects for decoration and for use that have been found in the second stratum and in the lapis lazuli, rock crystal, jade and amber that indicate communication with distant countries. The inhabitants were skilled in metal work and a number of moulds for casting metal add their testimony to that of the gold and silver[1] and bronze ornaments and utensils. The author[2] of this suggestion believes that the steppe-men did not long remain in Troy after burning the city, but pushed on to the grassy tablelands of central Anatolia.

These invaders from the steppes are the "tumulus-folk"[3] whose kurgans are scattered over Bulgaria, Thrace, and northwestern Asia Minor. The theory that it was they who burnt the second city of Troy was first propounded in 1916, and has been accepted or regarded as not improbable by scholars who have discussed the "tumulus-folk" more recently. J. L. Myres,[4] for example, follows Peake in connecting the coming of the horse into Asia Minor with the outflow of the "tumulus-folk" across the Dnieper, which broke up the painted-ware culture of Tripolje and penetrated into the Troad and northwestern Anatolia.

Did the horsemen from the steppes remain long enough to establish the breeding of horses for which Troy is so re-

[1] "The number of silver jars is remarkable and perhaps indicates that the kings of Troy owned mines." A. J. B. Wace in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, i, p. 614. Cf. Strabo 14, 680, who says that the wealth of Priam came from gold mines in Astylra near Abydos.

[2] Peake, H., *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, p. 75: "It may be that these were responsible for the rude villages of Hissarlik III, but it seems more probable that they would have passed on to the grassy steppes in the interior of the Anatolian peninsula." Cf. Kretschmer, Einl., p. 180.

[3] Kretschmer, *op. cit.* p. 179 f. [4] *Cambridge Ancient History*, i, 82 ff., 107.

nowned in the Homeric poems and did they continue the native industry of pot-making, which at Troy shows a peculiarly continuous development from the earliest stratum[1] to that of the sixth city? Virchow[2] notes the rarity of bones of horses in Schliemann's excavations at Troy, for which he accounts by suggesting that the horse would not be used for food and sacrifice within the citadel, the ends for which he assumes that the other animals whose bones he discovered were employed. Two fragments of the jaw of a horse and a single tooth of a horse are the only evidence found by Virchow in the prehistoric strata, i. e., the first and second according to his statement. Whether the destruction of the second city is to be placed as it is by Peake and others in the twenty-third century before Christ, or about the beginning of the second millennium, the horse's jaw and tooth would testify that the horse reached the Troad centuries before it was brought to southern Greece. This gives the horse-taming Trojans a long background of horsemanship.

The destroyers, whether steppe-men or Thracians,[3] did their work of destruction so thoroughly that the immediately succeeding settlements at Troy were poor and humble with no trace of the splendor of the Burnt City. In the fifth settlement,[4] however, a new decorative style in the work of the potter and a new building of walls probably marks the coming of fresh strength and of a new racial factor with greater knowledge and a more advanced culture. This finally results in the civilization of the sixth stratum, with its great power and splendid walls, which the Greek attacked in order to put an end to

[1] Forsdyke, *J. H. S.*, 1914, 126 ff.; Leaf, *Troy*, p. 84, Kretschmer, *op. cit.* p. 180f.

[2] Schliemann's *Troy*, p. 349.

[3] Cf. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

[4] Leaf, *Troy*, 83 f.: "The wall of the Fifth City must, if any, be the wall of that older Troy of which legend may have preserved a dim recollection in the tale of Heracles, and the war in which he had taken and sacked the town of Laomedon."

the dominion of the tribes which held control of the Dardanelles[1].

There can hardly be a doubt that it was the building of the walls of the fifth city which left its memory in the Homeric legend of god-built walls, of which Hector speaks in the assembly by the river, when he is giving orders for the mighty fires to be lit in Troy to illuminate all the heaven so that the movements of the Greeks may be clearly seen in the glare of the flames—"let all the heralds, dear to Zeus, tell the little children and the white-haired old men to gather about the citadel, on the god-built battlements."

The legend of Herakles and his smiting the city of Troy "for the sake of the horses" which were promised but not paid to him by the king Laomedon, is attached to the tale of the gods unpaid for building the walls. Legend does not value chronology and mingles in the pattern which it weaves memories of centuries far apart, careless of actual history, and intent only on events as material for the "story" that survives on the lips of the tellers of it in one generation after another. So the story of the second "city" with its opulence and merchandize going up in flames lives on, it may be, in the story of the burning of Troy by Herakles, though he was in the service of Laomedon, father of Priam, for whom he slew the sea-monster sent by the angry god.

[2]"Of the bravest of Hellas he made him a seafolk, in wrath for the steeds,
And sailed the wide waters and stayed him
At last amid Simoeis' reeds:
And the oars beat slow in the river and the long ropes held in the strand,
And he felt for his bow and his quiver,

[1] *Ibid.* p. 313 ff. [2] Eur., *Trojan Women*, Gilbert Murray's translation.

The wrath of his hand.
And the old king died and the towers that Phoebus had
builded did fall,
And his wrath as a flame that devours,
Ran red over all.
And the fields and the woodlands lay blasted—
Long ago. Yea twice hath the Sire
Uplifted his hand and downcast it
On the wall of the Dardan downcast it,
As a sword and as fire."

Herakles, whether god or man or hero, represents the energy and vigor of a race of northerners, who at one or another time entered Greece and Asia Minor as invaders and settlers. How early the northern element came to Troy is a question the answer to which can not yet be given. The "Nordic"[1] type of megaron in Troy II has been noted as showing a connection of that stratum and its inhabitants with Europe. These megara are the oldest yet discovered and it has been suggested that it is possible that they, "though older than the earliest known structures of timber and built of other material, are descended from the log cabin type of house." I quote this from C. A. Boëthius' discussion of Primitive House Types. He says further:[2] "Timber megara of course arose in the pine forests of Europe, where the climate and the materials to hand favoured such a development from more primitive elements. Eastern Europe in general, and Russia in particular, are *par excellence* the natural home of timber structures."

The connections of Hissarlik II with the metalliferous regions of Hungary and with Cyprus, the Copper Island, which are so striking, stir the imagination to wonder

[1] Leaf, *Troy*, p. 71 ff., 96, 97; Burrows, *Crete*, p. 199: "The Central Hearth in the Second City of Troy is the earliest phenomenon for which northern influences can be claimed."

[2] *B. S. A.* XXIV, 1921, p. 182 f.

about the *provenance* and racial affiliations of the race of kings and conquerors who lived in material splendour in the walled citadel and carried on trading relations with both Europe and Asia Minor in the centuries before the burning of their city, late in the third or at the beginning of the second millennium before Christ. It is clear that their power and prosperity must have had a long duration. After the poor herdsmen and shepherds who built their homes above the foundation afforded by the hardening[1] from the flames which burnt the great mysterious citadel of princes whose silver jars and gold diadems remain to testify to their magnificence, had vanished, there came the builders of the wall of the fifth city, a forerunner of the great walls and towers and gates of the city of Priam.

For the builders of these walls, called by the poet θεόδμητοι it lies closest to hand to name the Dardanians,[2] who must have come from their Danubian home in Europe in the course of the second millennium B.C. The Egyptian records[3] give evidence of their activities in the latter part of the millennium. Whether they came at first in great numbers, or with a small contingent which grew and prospered on the spot, can not be ascertained, but it seems highly probable that "Dardanus" was not accompanied by a great host when he came to Troy five generations before the reign of Priam. As the genealogy of Dardanus and his family in the twentieth book of the Iliad is so obviously a politico-religious invention to glorify the Dardanian descendants of Aeneas, it is not safe even to count the coming of Dardanus so far back of Priam's reign as the genealogy states. It is clear from the Iliad that the Dardanians are regarded in that poem as the most recent element in the Trojan

[1] Leaf, *op. cit.*, 80 ff.

[2] Sartiaux, *Troie*, pp. 145, 147; Myres, *Dawn of History*, p. 208.

[3] Breasted, *Ancient Records* III, p. 136, 157; Cowley, *Hittites*, 12, 13; Hall, *Anc. Hist. of Near East* (1920), 216 ff.

racial mixture. Aeneas, their leader, is greeted as Councillor of the Trojans, but there is a distinction between the Dardanian and Trojan fighting-men; the Dardanians being led by Antenor and by the young Aeneas, while Hector commands the Trojans. Antenor is also mentioned with the title of Councillor of the Trojans and is a member of the council of Priam. The genealogy of Aeneas given in the twentieth book attaches Dardanus to Zeus in a way that suggests the newcomer,[1] who has no ancestors known to the land and therefore is made a child of the most high god. The patronymic Dardanides for Priam is unparalleled in Homeric use of patronymics for an ancestor five generations removed, and was doubtless used to give an appearance of harmony between the Trojans, whose representative Priam is, and the Dardanians of Antenor and Aeneas. The mention of the feud between the two houses comes in so casually that knowledge of it is evidently assumed as part of a well known tradition. In the thirteenth book Aeneas is said to be in the rear of the battle because Priam refuses him honor in spite of his excellence. His bitterness against Priam is expressly noted and in the genealogy it is made clear that he is no descendant of the faithless Laomedon.

The sixth city, which was the culmination of the Dardanian power and culture[2] was the greatest flowering ever attained by the Danubian tribes in the northern area. In it the energy and fresh strength of the northerners came into contact with the older Aegaean civilizations and, though the resulting culture seen in what remains from Hissarlik VI is rude in comparison with the beauty and grace of the Cretan and Mycenaean arts of living, this stage yet shows a marvellous skill in the con-

[1] Leaf, *Homer and History*, p. 267.

[2] Sartiaux, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Leaf, *Troy*, 85 ff. Wace, *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, 471 f.: "The mighty walls, themselves, however, bear silent witness to the strength and wealth of Troy."

struction of walls and a power of accumulating wealth and establishing empire. In contrast to the weak habitations that succeeded the Burnt City on the hill of Hissarlik, the walls of the sixth city might well appear to have been what Homer calls them, θεόδμητοι, built by the hands of Gods.

To return now to Poseidon and Apollo, the Builder Gods. The tribes from the north[1] who entered the Troad and built and destroyed and built again the walls of Troy in centuries far apart were nature-worshippers; water and the sun were divine elements to them. Rivers they worshipped, for these were necessary for their subsistence and that of their flocks and herds; and it is no wonder that fleeing from droughts and water famine, they sacrificed their animals to the rivers in the fashion which Achilles counts so barbarous. And they worshipped sun and moon, the sun that gave light and life to them and to their crops; the moon, still more mysterious, with her power over productivity. This we know to be true in later time of the Paeonians and Thracians and other northern peoples, who never reached the anthropomorphic and "Olympian" stage in the same degree as the Greeks. The worship of the sun as the source of life and healing was so far advanced before the time of Homer, among the Paeonians of the Axios river, that their ethnic title used in the "vague" Thracian fashion which Perdrizet[2] has noted, for their god, is in the Homeric poems established as the great Greek god of healing.

The name of Poseidon is clearly connected with the Greek words ποτόν, ποτίζω, ποταμός. He is in origin the god of freshwater streams[3] and many of his aspects, which

[1] Sartiaux, *op. cit.*, 145, 147; Leaf, *op. cit.*, 299; Myres, *Dawn of History*, 203. Thallon, *Some Balkan and Danubian Connexions of Troy*, *J. H. S.* XXXIX, pp. 185-201.

[2] *Cultes et Mythes du Pangée*, p. 21.

[3] Farnell, *Cults*, IV, 6. But cf. A. Carnoy, *Musée Belge*, 28, (1924) 2–3, who derives the name from πόσις lord, and the element wet, seen in *Don*, *Danuvius*.

persist even after he has been carried to the ocean by his Ionian worshippers and has become the god of the sea, reveal him as god of vegetative life.

From the quickening of the earth by the rays of the sun and from the discovery of the value to life of plants and herbs produced by the earth, παμμήτωρ,[1] came a complex religious figure which is not the sun, but an aspect of the sun in relation to vegetation and animal and human life. This conception grows into the iatromantis[2] Apollo with the epithet Phoebus, which connotes the cleansing and healing strength of the sun, which destroys and removes pollution.

Apollo is not Helios, but is one of the offshoots of the worship of the sun in the regions extending from the Danube to the Troad. Poseidon is not a river, but his form and cult developed from the worship of rivers by nomad tribes wandering in search of water and pasturage for their flocks and herds. The legend said that Apollo and Poseidon built the walls of Troy. The wall of the sixth city was built "with external aid"[3] by worshippers of these gods and the natural forces which they represented, by men from the Danube, the Haliakmon, and the Vardar, Dardanians, Paeonians, and their kindred tribes.

In the Theogony of Hesiod there is a remarkable passage in which a list of rivers is given. They are the children whom Tethys bore to Ocean,—the Eridanus, the Strymon, the Maeander, and the Ister with beautiful waves, the Phasis, and the Rhesus, and the silver Achelous, the Nessus, the Rhodius, the Haliakmon, the Heptaporus, the Granicus, and the Aesepus, and divine Simoeis,

[1] *Aesch. Pr.* 90.

[2] Aesch., *Eum.*, 62 f.:

ἰατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος
καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις δωμάτων καθάρσιος.

Myres, *Dawn of History*, p. 209.

the Peneus, and the Hermus, the flowing Caicus, great Sangarius, and Ladon, and Parthenius, and Evenus, and Ardescus, and divine Scamander. Every one has wondered that the poet here mentions chiefly the rivers of northern Greece and of Asia Minor, above all the rivers of the Troad. The sisters of the rivers are the holy band of *korai*, who bring children to youth and manhood with the help of Apollo and the rivers—they have this function from Zeus.

Τίκτε δὲ θυγατέρων ἱερὸν γένος, αἳ κατὰ γαῖαν
ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι
καὶ ποταμοῖς, ταύτην δὲ Διὸς πάρα μοῖραν ἔχουσι.[1]

In this passage, as I understand it, is the essence of the northern religion,—the worship of the powers of nature which are recognized as contributing directly to the life and survival of man, especially the sun and the waters. The elements have become anthropomorphic—Helios is the Lord Apollo and the Rivers are personified. They are in the state of "unstable anthropomorphism," the best example of which in the Iliad is the Scamander, who is now a river with his streams choked with the dead victims of the anger of Achilles and now a god rising from his waters in human form to reproach Achilles for his madness.

In the Iliad Apollo is the god who brings pestilence[2] and healing, who is propitiated with the magic *carmen* of the Paean song. The shadowy Paeon, the physician of the gods, whose only function in that poem is to use the mild roots belonging to his simple art of medicine upon two gods (Death and War!) is intermediate between the healing and destroying Sun, worshipped as such by Danubians, and the beautiful form of Apollo in Homer and in later Greek literature and art.

[1] *Theog.*, 346 ff.

[2] "The sender of evil also averted it and taught how it could be exorcised." Wilamowitz, *Apollo*, p. 34.

Paeon Apollo is the theme of the song against the pestilence in the Oedipus Tyrannus, a song written by the poet who is said to have introduced the worship of the god who averts sickness into Athens, and to have received honors himself in the same shrine.[1] Traces of the old magic words and formulas appear in the prayer for the aversion of ill in the chorus, for example the cry ἰήιε Δάλιε Παιάν, and the phrase, τρισσοὶ ἀλεξίμοροι προφάνητέ μοι.

I quote this example of a propitiatory paean in the translation of Gilbert Murray, which gives its spirit faithfully as well as its beauty.

What task, O Affrighter of Evil, what task shall thy people essay?
One new as our new-born affliction,
Or an old toil returned with the years?
Unveil thee, thou dread benediction,
Hope's daughter and Fear's.

Zeus-child, that knowest not death, to thee I pray
O Pallas; next to thy sister, who callest Thebes her own,
Artemis named of fair voices, who sitteth her orbèd throne
In the throng of the market-way:
And I-ê I-ê—

Apollo the Pure, the Far-smiter; O Three that keep evil away,
If of old for our city's desire,
When the death-cloud hung close to her brow,
Ye have banished the wound and the fire,
O! come to us now!

Lo, joy-cries to fright the Destroyer, a flash in the dark they rise,

[1] *Et. Mag., s.v.* Δεξίων

Then die by the sobs overladen,
Send help, O heaven-born Maiden,
Let us look on the light of her eyes!

Where is thy gold-strung bow
O Wolf-God, where the flow
Of living shafts unconquered, from all ills
Our helper?

To such poetry as this the Greek genius raised the old chants to avert evil, such as the ἐπαοιδή, which the uncles of Odysseus sang[1] over the wound which the wild boar's tusk had dug in his flesh, for the purpose of staying the flow of blood.

Poseidon has found no such beautiful expression in Greek poetry and it is not strange that he has not. The worship of the sun in heaven, whom, Plato says, all men, Greeks and Barbarians, adore, developed into a conception filled with emotions of human hope and fear, which the element of water never could express. Poseidon is never very deeply intellectualized in Greek religion, whereas Apolline religion became perhaps the highest form of worship to which the Greeks attained.

The symbols of sun and water still play a part in the terminology or ritual of religions which prevail in the most civilized countries today. Once they were held in honor and worshipped not as symbols, but as the actual givers of life, which could be propitiated or frightened by arrows shot into the air, or by living things sunk into pools or streams. Such was the religion of the northerners, for whose princes the walls of Troy which Homer calls the God-built Walls were built.

[1] *Od.* 19, 457.

CHAPTER II

TRIBES OF THE TROJAN BATTLE-CRY
THE LYKIANS AND SARPEDON

"Hark! Hector's trumpet."
Troilus and Cressida.

CONSISTENTLY a distinction is made in the Iliad between the terms of the address to the Trojans in assembly and those of the call to men in battle. The formula for the assembly is first used by Agamemnon at the end of the duel between Paris and Menelaos. The situation is like that of the assembly, as a treaty has been made with victims and the Trojans are acting not as warriors, but as a state-body representing Troy. Agamemnon employs the formal phrase, usual in addressing the assembly, when he notifies the Trojans that the terms of the treaty are fulfilled and that the victory lies with the Greeks. He says: "Hear ye me, Trojans, Dardanians, and Allies!"

κέκλυτέ μευ, Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἠδ' ἐπίκουροι.

Priam[1] and Antenor[2] use this formula and Hector uses it when he addresses the assembly by the river.[3] The same combination of Trojans and Dardanians in council appears in the group of elders (δημογέροντες) around Priam; of these Panthoos and Antenor are certainly Dardanian, whereas Klytios, Lampos and Hiketaon are brothers of Priam and sons of Laomedon. Thymoites is said to have married a sister of Priam and her[4] son was born on the same night as Paris,—a replica of the tale in the Iliad about the coincidence in birth-night of

[1] *Il.* 7, 368. [2] *Il.* 7, 348. [3] *Il.* 8, 47. [4] Tzetzes on Lyk., 224 ff., 319 ff.

Hector and the Dardanian Poulydamas. Diodorus calls Thymoites a brother of Priam[1]. About the tribe of Oucalegon nothing is handed down; his name has an ending that has been noted as Thracian-Illyrian by several scholars, but that is an insufficient indication in the absence of other data. In the seventh book the "Trojans and Dardaniones" are said to be sitting in council, awaiting the return of the herald, Idaeus, who comes back from the Greeks; the same terms are used in the eighth book by Nestor in speaking of an assembly imagined by Diomede, when he says, "For Hector addressing the Trojans in assembly will say," etc. In line 154 comes the phrase Τρῶες καὶ Δαρδανίωνες. Hector, who addresses the assembly by the river in the eighth book with the words, "Hear ye me, Trojans and Dardanians and Allies," uses in the same book when urging his troops to battle, the line which he and he only shouts to his men as a battle-cry,—

Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχηταί.

Of the tribes enumerated here, I will consider the Lykians first for reasons that will appear in the discussion.

The Lykians

The Lykians formed an important part of the fighting forces on the Trojan side and the combination "Trojans and Lykians" occurs several times for the whole body of troops. In the Catalogue of Ships the Dardanians are mentioned immediately after the Trojans under Hector, who are described as the most numerous and excellent of the troops. The Lykians under Pandaros come next, that is, the Trojan Lykians of the Aesepus valley; the Lykians from the distant waters of the Xanthus under Sarpedon and Glaukos are given as the last item in the Trojan list.

[1] Diod. 3, 67, 5.

These Lykians from the Xanthus, who come last in the Trojan Catalogue, stand first among the allies when the battles are described; their heroes, Sarpedon and Glaukos, have a part that is dramatically only second in human interest to that of Hector. What they say is often touched with greatness; for example Glaukos' words in the sixth book about the life of man, blooming and perishing like leafage in spring and in autumn; and the words of Sarpedon in the twelfth book, when he tells Glaukos that they twain must show themselves fit to be called kings of Lykia, worth the homage which they receive by the banks of the Xanthus and must give their lives in battle for their cause. Like Achilles Sarpedon knows that he is not to return to his home, and he has there a beloved wife and little son, who long for his coming.

Why and how did the Lykians from the Xanthus come to Troy? It is easy to see why the Danubian allies, the Paeonians, came from two hundred miles away along the old highway of trading that led from Serbia to Troy. "Lykia is about four hundred nautical miles from Troy—a five-days' run under the most favorable circumstances. It is twice as far as 'far-away' Axios and Askania. . . . But of course in reality a much longer time than five days would be taken." Dr. Leaf holds that the Lykians were a nation of "middle-men" and that they probably came by sea up along the coast, first in their trading, and then to fight to hold the trade which they shared with the Trojan possessors of the Dardanelles traffic.[1] J. L. Myres points to the evidence given by the Homeric Catalogue for a land route "passing southward through Mysia, Maeonia, and ending in Lykia." He says that it is hardly to be doubted that it went further, skirting the central plateau of Asia Minor, through Pisidia and

[1] Leaf, *Troy*, 312 f.

Cilicia, and that its goal was Cyprus, the copper island.[1]

The Trojan Lykians from Zeleia, occupying what the scholiast calls Little Lykia, are given more verses in the Catalogue than the Lykians from the Xanthus under Sarpedon.

"They who dwelt in Zeleia, beneath the furthest foot of Ida, wealthy men, drinking the black water of the Aesepus, led by the splendid son of Lykaon, Pandaros, to whom Apollo himself had given his bow."

They come next to the Dardanians in the Catalogue of the Trojans. Strabo[2] speaks of the excellent cultivated plain and hill-slopes of Zeleia; he gives[3] its site on the last slope of Ida, one hundred and ninety stades from Cyzicus and about eighty stades from the sea at the mouth of the Aesepus. His idea that the adjective ἀφνειοί, wealthy, is derived from Lake Aphnitis, identified by Hasluck[4] with Lake Manyas and the Daskylitis of Strabo[5], is clearly wrong. It is highly probable that the inhabitants of Zeleia were among the traders of the north Troad, "middlemen" like their southern kinsfolk[6] and perhaps in communication with the latter through the trade-routes leading to Adramyttium and Pergamon.

The country succeeding to the Troad from the Aesepus along the Propontis was in the Homeric period and that immediately following filled with tribes whose origin was Danubian or Thracian: Doliones, Mysians of Mount Olympus, Mygdonians, Bithynians, and Phrygians. The Mysians in Homer "might be in the moon,"[7] but are

[1] Myres, "Copper and Bronze Age in Cyprus," *J.A.* I, 27 (1897), 171 ff.; Lichtenberg, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte von Kypros* (in Mittheilungen d. vorasiatischer Gesellschaft (1906, 2), p. 72 ff.); Ormerod, *B.S.A.* 16 (1909–10), p. 105. "The influence of Cyprus on the pottery is important in view of the close trade relations (probably overland) between Cyprus and the Troad."

[2] 603: τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἤδη τὰ τῆς Ζελείας ἐστὶ πεδία καὶ ὀροπέδα καλῶς γεωργούμενα.

[3] 587. [4] *Cyzicus*, 44 ff. [5] 587. [6] Leaf, *Troy*, 320–321.

[7] Allen, *Homeric Catalogue*, p. 161.

certainly related, whether Homer knew it or not, to the close-fighting Mysians in Europe to whom Zeus looked,[1] turning his eyes from the battle-field of Troy. Hesychius says that the Mysians were "very mantic," and it is in accord with this that one of the two chiefs named in the Iliad as the leaders of the contingent sent to Troy is Ennomos the Augur, who "for all his birds of omen did not save himself from black death, but was felled by the hands of swift Aeacides at the river." Although Homer does not tell of them at their river Caicus, whose "orgeones" later were famous, they were in all probability settled there before the time of the epic. The Phrygians are well known to Homer as kinsfolk and allies of the Trojans and the excavations at Bos-Öyük[2] near the Sangarius confirm the poet in the connection revealed between the early Trojan culture and that of Phrygia. The Mygdonians are suggested in the Iliad by Priam's tale of the king Mygdon who commanded an army of Phrygians with swift horses, when the Trojan prince fought on their side against the Amazons on Sangarius' banks. The Doliones, who were between the Aesepus and the Rhyndacus (ἀπὸ Αἰσήπου ἕως Ῥυνδάκου),[3] once called Lykos, are not mentioned by Homer; they or their Mysian predecessors were next door to the Lykian Trojans with their well-built citadel, who are allies of the family and tribe of Priam at Troy on the hill of Hissarlik, sharing in the civilization of the Troad and acquiring wealth by their connection with Mysia and Phrygia. As Strabo says, "the stories told of Mysian and Phrygian settlements go back of the Trojan War and the two sets of Lykians give the idea of one origin."[4] The origin would be that of the northerners, whose half-nomad clans had drifted across the Bosporos into the peninsula. Of the Phrygians Sar-

[1] *Il.* 13, 3-5. [2] Körte, *A.M.*, 1899, p. 23. [3] Strabo, 574. [4] 572.

tiaux[1] says, "Their products came to Troy overland, along the roads of the Sangarius, the Rhyndacos and the Macestos." From the *mélange* of tribes which were settled in these river-valleys in the last centuries of the second millenium there emerge most definitely in the Iliad the Phrygians, the Mysians, whose mingling of boundaries with the Phrygians was later proverbial, and the Trojan Lykians. Collignon says of Yortan on the Caicus that its culture gives another landmark (*jalon*) on the way to the Phrygian Bos-Öyük. He notes the manner of covering the burial jars at Yortan with slabs of stone[2] as analogous to that at Ren Keui in the Troad. Whoever the authors of the civilization seen in Hissarlik II–VI, in Bos-Öyük[3] in Phrygia, and at Yortan in Mysia were, the connection of the cultures shows a very early use of the roads of communication between them. The close trade-relations, probably overland, as Ormerod says,[4] between Cyprus and Troy must have been maintained by connecting valley roads. It can hardly be a matter either of invention on the part of Homer or of mere chance that Trojan Lykians were established in wealth and strength on the Aesepus river, close neighbors of the Mysians who either in Homer's time or soon after had pushed down into the Caicus valley, on the road which led to Lykia in the south.

The city in the Troad which the Trojan Lykians occupied, Zeleia, is said by the scholiast on *Il.* 4, 103 to have been so named on account of the great worship of Apollo

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

[2] *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 20, p. 810. Also Virchow, *Alt-Trojanische Gräber und Schädel*, Abh. d. königl. Akad. der Wissenschaften, zu Berlin, 1882, p. 9. Virchow describes the πίθοι like those found at Hissarlik, and closed by a slab of stone. Most of the burials at Ren Keui, he says, were in these jars.

[3] Körte, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Körte says that the culture of the tumulus of Bos-Öyük can hardly be more recent than the middle of the second millenium B.C. Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 175–6, for identity of Bos-Öyük culture with Trojan, especially with the fifth and sixth strata at Troy.

[4] Ormerod, *B.S.A.* 16, p. 105.

in it. Another scholion says that there was an oracle of Apollo full of truth (ἀψευδέστατον) in the place. It got its name according to the Etymologicum Magnum from a certain Zelus. This word Zelus has been considered an ancient cult-title for the sun-god and connected in root with σέλας, ἥλιος, and Σηλυμβρία. Hasluck[1] is inclined to place the site of the famous oracle of Apollo at Gunen, at the hot and sulphurous springs over which the goddess Artemis later presided. There is doubtless a connection between the name of the Paeonian tribe on Mount Pangaeum, the Zaieleoi, which Svoronos[2] derives from the same root as that seen in Zelia[3] and the name of the city on the Aesepus. Kretschmer says[4] that of the European tribes that had a part in the settlements of Troy we may with a degree of certainty name the Paeonians, and holds that Παιών on the Thracian Chersonese may have been a stopping-place in their wandering to the Troad. Since the Pangaeum tribe of the Zaieleoi, whose existence is attested by coins, has practically the same name as the city on the Aesepus, it is difficult not to regard them as connected in race. Then we have an important argument for the connection of the Zeleian (and Lykian) Apollo with Paeonian sun-worship.

(The Trojan Lykians)

Hasluck in discussing the Macestus valley road which connected Cyzicus with Adramyttium and Pergamon says of Argiza, "the site of which is definitely fixed by Dr. Fabricius' inscription at Balia Bazar on the upper Aesepus," that the road on which it stood was probably "the route from Cyzicus to Adramyttium by way of the

[1] *Cyzicus*, p. 101.

[2] Svoronos, *Journal International D'Archéologie*, 1918–1919, 19, pp. 58 f.

[3] Such forms as *Zeliachoba*, etc., appear in Byzantine times. Cf. Svoronos, *op. cit.* p. 59.

[4] *Einl.*, p. 185.

Aesepus valley, which road survives in the 'constantly used' track from Edremit through Bazar Keui by way of the lower Aesepus. . . . We can only conclude that Argiza was connected with the Pergamon road by a branch westward before Balia."[1] The road system here discussed is that of the Romans according to the Peutinger Table. However, the author says of the Macestus valley road that "the general line of this road is that marked out by nature for the intercommunication of the northern and western ports of Asia Minor: it has varied comparatively slightly from age to age in accordance with the changes in market centres and especially of shipping ports." It seems practically certain, then, that the Trojan Lykians from their command of the Aesepus valley were in communication with the Macestus valley and so with that way of commerce which Radet calls "la grande route transversale du centre, celle de la Propontide au golf de Pamphylie par les vallées du Cogamus et de Lykos."[2]

In reporting to the *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* for M. Gaudin on the excavations of the Nekropolis of Yortan in Mysia, whose pottery shows such a remarkable likeness to that of early Troy, Maxime Collignon writes:[3] "The burial follows a line the axis of which corresponds almost exactly to the carriage-road from Kirkagatch to Gelembhe and follows the direction north-south. It would be premature to draw ethnological conclusions about the race of those who buried their dead in the necropolis and established the centre of their habitation on the road of communication which has been called the 'grande route transversale du centre, route qu'ont toujours suivies les caravanes allant de Smyrne à Brousse'."

[1] Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 131 ff., 138, 140.
[2] Radet, *La Lydie et Le Monde Grecque*, 34 f.
[3] Collignon, *Comptes Rendus*, 1901, 810 ff.

J. L. Myres in the article on Copper and Bronze is Cyprus and Southeast Europe, already cited,[1] says that the only means conceivable to account for the likeness between the pots of early Troy and those of Cyprus is that knowledge of them travelled, as the things themselves are too fragile to have been the sole object, if indeed they were objects at all, of commerce over such distances. He says that "the only conceivable object of trade between the two places is copper, the staple product of Cyprus, the manipulation of which presumes so close an acquaintance with the manipulation of clay." Dr. Leaf says[2] of the site of Zeleia: "Its position commands the natural outlets westwards of the low country of the Daskylitis, the fertility of which is extolled by Xenophon and Catullus. Hence must have come the wealth of the Zeleians."

The epithet for wealth in question, ἀφνειοί, may be compared with the name which Greek settlers on the Black Sea at the mouth of the Borysthenes gave to their trading town, the oldest colony beyond the Danube, which Minns speaks of as the great example of a Greek colony developed from a factory; he remarks[3] that the chief occupation of the settlers in Olbia was trading up and down the river with the natives. Herodotus says[4] that though their neighbors called them Borysthenitae from the name of the river, the Greeks gave themselves the name of Olbiopolitae. The words ἄφενος and ὄλβος for wealth occur together in Hesiod and other Greek writers, and are well adapted to express the riches got by a trading people. So it may be that the Trojan Lykians, established on the border of the northern Mysians as "the furthest outpost of the Trojan civilization"[5] shared in the trade of which Myres speaks, the

[1] *Journ. Anthropological Instit.*, vol. 27, 1907, 171 ff. [2] Leaf, *Troy*, 181.

[3] Minns, *Greeks and Scythians*, 451. See also Hirst, G. M., *Cults of Olbia*, pt. I, p. 252, pt. II, p. 38.

[4] Hdt. IV, 17–18. [5] Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 115.

route for which he indicates as passing southward from the Troad, through Mysia, Maeonia (that is, Lydia), ending in Lykia.

"Clearly," Dr. Leaf says,[1] "to Homer the Carians and Maeonians are merchants and artists, not fighters." He says that the Lykians in the south were a race of middle-men and traders, keeping in their hands the commerce of the northwest and collecting goods from the east and south in their emporia. The Trojan Lykians, "who drank the black water of Aesepus," were cut off from the sea by a range of hills; but their command of their river-valley put them in connection with the road system of the Macestus valley and so with that from the Propontis to the south, near an *étape* of which lie the dead in the necropolis at Yortan in Mysia, buried in a line parallel to the great road. The article of H. J. Rose[2] on the Orientation of the Dead in Greece and Italy makes one wonder about the motive for the orientation at Yortan. Was it because "it is possible to orient by laying the dead along the road which he must travel," or was it in accordance with the view of Herbert Spencer discussed by Professor Rose that the dead are sometimes turned to face the original *habitat* of their people?

The Lykians are in the Iliad good fighters and masters of swift horses. In the only instance of trading of which Homer tells in which a Lykian is involved, the Lykian is, as Homer notes, sadly cheated. For at the invitation of Diomede, who asked the Lykian Glaukos with winning words to exchange armor with him, as a token of ancestral friendship, Glaukos made a poor bargain by exchanging his gold armor for bronze, his worth one hundred oxen and Diomede's which he got in exchange worth only nine.[3] Diomede is often covetous in the Iliad; the poet here puts the blame on Zeus.

[1] Leaf, *Troy*, 312. [2] Rose, *C.R.* XXXIV, 1920, 141 ff. [3] *Il.* VI, 234.

The great horse-fair, which formerly had religious associations, described by Hasluck as taking place at Gunen on the Aesepus in June may go back to a very ancient worship of Poseidon Hippios. The Lykians from the Xanthus are characterized in the Iliad by an epithet which denotes skill with the horse—ταχύπωλοι—and their great hero Bellerophon is closely associated with the horse in legend; his true name is said to have been Hipponoos, a cult-title of Poseidon. The Zeleians in the north Troad are neighbors of the northern Mysians, immigrants from the Danube, a water-worshipping folk who are later found by the Caicus, in honor of which river they celebrated sacred rites. The name of the Maeonians, who are so close to them in the later Mysia about the Caicus, is, as Mr. Arkwright has shown,[1] probably in origin the same as that of the Paeonians and their epithet in the Iliad is that of the Paeonians also. It is interesting to note that Achilles addresses the Maeonian chief Iphition, son of a Naiad of the Lake, when he slays him, in words much the same in feeling as those with which he addresses the young prince from Paeonia, sprung from a River, when he kills him in the succeeding book of the Iliad. To the Maeonian Lake-born he says:—

"There you lie, Otrunteus' son! marvellous among men. Death meets you here and your birth was at the Lake Gygaean where the kingly fields of your father are, close by fishy Hyllus and whirling Hermus."

To the River-born Paeonian his words are:—

"Lie there! It is no light thing for you to battle with the child of mighty Zeus, though you are sprung from a River. Better is it to have sprung from Zeus than from a River."

The two Maeonian chiefs of the Catalogue are also Lake-born, their mother being the Lake Gygaean.[2]

[1] *J. H. S.*, 1918, "Lycian and Phrygian Names," pp. 45 ff.

[2] Gygaea is a royal name in the house of the Macedonian Argeadae. It is the name of the daughter of Amyntas I and of the first wife of Amyntas III. Cf. Hoffman, *Makedonen*, 217 f.

Arkwright notes that the name of one of them, Mesthles, is the same as Dardanian Mestula.

The river Aesepus was sacred and had a cult in later time. The Zeleians appear to be connected with the sun and river worshipping Paeonians of Europe and so with the Maeonians of the Caicus, if Paeonian is the same as Maeonian, which Mr. Arkwright has shown to be likely. It is probable that the horse came from the deep-soiled river-plains of Zeleia and other places in the Troad, along the old caravan routes, through the country of the Maeonians, to Lykia of the south. Dr. Leaf[1] notes that at the time of the war there must have been a particularly close intercourse with Maeonia due to commercial relations, since the Homeric poems show such an unusually detailed knowledge of the places where the great city of Sardes lay. The name of the river Maeander in Caria suggests the carrying on the tribal name from Paeonia, Maeonia, still further south.

The hero of the Zeleians in the Iliad is Pandaros, son of Lykaon, who came to Troy on foot, leaving his cherished team of horses in Zeleia, as he feared that they would not have food enough in the crowded city of Troy. He relied on his bow and arrows. The Paeonians have in the Iliad the special epithet ἀγκυλότοξοι, "with curved bows." Apollo himself is said to have given Pandaros his bow. A fine description is given of it in the fourth book of the Iliad, where it is related that Pandaros killed the wild goat just as it showed its head above the edge of the cliff and from the branching antlers the craftsman made him the bow. Apollo is here forgotten. Pandaros is the tool of Athene when he shoots at Menelaos, thereby breaking the truce. Nothing is told in the poem about the men from Zeleia after the death of their chief in the fifth book. There, after his skill in archery and his aid have been

[1] Leaf, *Troy*, p. 307.

sought by Aeneas in the contest with Diomede, he is slain by Diomede after wounding him.

The epithet Λυκηγενής, born of the Wolf, or Light-born, or Lykian-born, occurring in the prayer of Pandaros twice (first in the lines dictated by Athena), is evidently a play of words which refer to the god's connection with the Trojan Lykians. One can only say of it "*non lucet.*" The word does not occur later. As Pandaros is called the son of Lykaon repeatedly in the passage in which the ambiguous epithet occurs[1] the poet is evidently in a mood for emphasizing etymological likenesses with an ulterior meaning. The son of Lykaon, Pandaros, who is a famous bowman, prays to Apollo, Λυκηγενής, vowing a hecatomb of firstling lambs on his return to the citadel of holy Zeleia. Glaukos also in the sixteenth book calls upon Apollo, saying that he is either in the fertile land of Lykia, or in Troy.

The connection between the wolf and Apollo may be explained by the wolf worship of some tribe which had Apollo for its chief god, or it may be due to the facts that Apollo was conceived of as Averter of Evil and that the greatest danger that men in the pastoral stage have to face in their struggle to defend their home, flocks and herds, is the wolf. Apollo is Wolf-Slayer as Sophocles calls him; his other "animal" epithet, Smintheus, has the form which is considered "shortened," or "hypokoristikon," very likely for σμινθοκτόνος. Whether or not there is, as Nillson believes,[2] in the Mouse-Slayer (and in the Wolf-Slayer) a reminiscence of an extinct totemism which is older than Apollo, the old sharp antithesis of "wolf-god or light-god," on which so many pages have been written by students of philology and religion, is no longer the dilemma offered us. The wolf, so far as it did become the animal of Apollo, may have been fastened to the cult of a

[1] *Il.* 4, 90 ff. [2] Nillson, *Griech. Fest.*, 101.

sun-god, by some tribe like the Thracians, wearers of the wolf-skin and worshippers of the sun. Herodotus tells of a tribe in south Russia, neighbors of the tattooed Agathyrsi, who are regarded as Thracian in origin, each of whose tribesmen became a wolf for a few days of each year, thereafter returning to human form.[1] Were the Lukioi such a tribe of "were-wolves," or were they a tribe having the wolf as a sacred animal? The formation, as I have said, seems to me to indicate a geographical derivative such as Xanthioi. The stories of Leto coming from the Hyperboreans in the form of a wolf, or going to Egypt in the form of a shrewmouse, are late and do not greatly illuminate Apolline origins. As a Hellenic god Apollo is essentially ἀλεξίκακος and protects men, flocks, and crops from harm. It may be that by a *lucus a non lucendo* process in the brain of a primitive tribe, this Averter of Evil was developed from a wolf totem or a mouse totem.[2] I rather hold that Phoebus Apollo was an aspect of Hyperion Helios, the child of Gaia and Ouranos, that he was in the Greek conception of him a destroyer of wolves, mice, locusts, mould of the grain, and other pests from which he got the names Λυκοκτόνος, Σμινθεύς, πορνόπιος, σιτάλκας, ἐρυσίβιος, and that he was both sun-god and vegetation god. The Lykians, being of the northern strain, brought his cult with them[3] as they came down from the Troad, where he was worshipped by their old river, the Aesepus, as an oracular god of its healing springs.

To doubt with Kretschmer[4] the historical existence of the Trojan Lykians is to misunderstand the nature of Homer's historical and geographical allusions, which are not random inventions, but rest on a firm basis of inherited songs. Dusseaud[5] in contrast to Kretschmer holds that

[1] Hdt. IV, 105. [2] Nillson, *Griech. Fest.*, *loc. cit.*
[3] Farnell IV, 119 ff. Harrison, *Mythology* 1924, p. 129 ff. [4] *Einleit.*, 189.
[5] Dusseaud, *Les Civilisations prehelleniques dans le bassin de la mer Egée*, p. 455.

the Trojan Lykians were the kinsfolk of the Lykians on the Xanthus and that the latter emigrated from the Troad, a view in which, as is clear from the preceding argument, I concur. We find the Trojan Lykians, as I believe, going from river-valley to river-valley, finally bringing names from their old home in the Troad to the country later called Lykia from their name. They named the river in northern Lykia by which they made their new home Xanthus, a "divine" name of the Trojan Scamander and in the feminine form Xanthe an old name for Troy itself. They named a city Tlos, evidently a variation of Tros. The dwellers in the Lykian city of Xanthus called themselves Xanthioi from the river and city and it is not improbable that the Lykioi themselves got their name not directly from the word λύκος, a wolf, but from a river Lykos, by which they may have lived at some period, before coming to the Aesepus. H. R. Hall[1] thinks that the name Tremilae or Termilae, which we know from Herodotus was the name of the older inhabitants of Lykia, may have meant Wolf-Men and that Lykioi may have been a translation of that. Since so many rivers, especially in Asia Minor have the name of Wolf, such as the Rhyndacus in Daskylitis, which Pliny says[2] was formerly called the Lykos, it appears to me not unlikely that the Lykians dwelling by rivers got their name in this way rather than from a totem animal.

The coherence[3] in the Egyptian records of the names of the Dardanians, Mysians, and Lykians together with

[1] Hall, H. R., *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 89, note. [2] Pliny, *N. H.—V, 42.*

[3] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, p. 186, for Hittite allies in the Asiatic War. Kheta, Pedes, Derden, Mesa, Kelekish, Kezedwedon and Luka = the Hittites and their neighbors in Asia Minor; Luka almost certainly the Lykians; Kelekish probably the Cilicians; Derden perhaps the Dardanians; and Mesa the Mysians. Also *Ancient Records*, p. 157, list of chiefs of Kheta brought as living captives to the house of his father, in the Ramses inscription of the south wall of the great Karnak hypostyle: Derden, Pedes, Kelekish. See also A. E. Cowley, *Hittites* (1920), pp. 13, 21, 22, 23; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, 4th edition, 1919, pp. 216 ff.; King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia* (1907), p. 368; Dusseaud, *op. cit.*, p. 445 f.

the other names, Pedes and Kelekish, which are interpreted as referring respectively to the Lelegian inhabitants of Pedasos and the Kilikes who once had a home in the Troad, constitutes a strong argument of probability for the ultimate common origin of the tribes in question in the north of Asia Minor or in Europe.

The leaders of the Lykians in the Iliad are Glaukos and Sarpedon. The name of Glaukos has been recognized as an epithet of Poseidon and the names occurring in the genealogy in the sixth book of Hippolochus, the father of Glaukos, and of his grandfather and great-grandfather, Bellerophontes and Glaukos, also have been interpreted as a reflection of Poseidon worship. This genealogy probably leads straight to Thessaly.[1] And if it is an outgrowth and an indication of a cult of Poseidon Hippios, its origin was doubtless still further north.

Sarpedon is called "Councillor of the Lykians," unlike Dardanian Aeneas, who is addressed[2] as Τρώων βουλήφορε. He is son of Zeus, which as I, following Leaf,[3] have noted in the case of Dardanus, probably marks one who is a chief belonging to a newly arrived tribe. On his mother's side Sarpedon descends from Bellerophontes, son of Glaukos, son of Sisyphos, the Aeolid. He leads the allies in the twelfth book of the Iliad,[4] choosing the Paeonian Asteropaios and his countryman Glaukos as seconds to him. Sarpedon's preeminence is asserted by the poet:

Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἡγήσατ' ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων,
πρὸς δ' ἔλετο Γλαῦκον καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἀστεροπαῖον·
οἱ γάρ οἱ εἴσαντο διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστοι
τῶν ἄλλων μετά γ' αὐτόν· ὁ δ' ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων.

He is the noblest after Hector on the Trojan side and the

[1] *P.W.*, *s.v.* Bellerophontes. [2] *Il.* 13, 463.
[3] Leaf, *Homer and History*, p. 267: "The son of Zeus means in fact the self-made man."
[4] *Il.* 12, 101, 102.

most finely imagined. There is great poetry in his speech to Hector in the fifth book and greater power in his depiction than in that of any other on the Trojan side except Hector. He is, as Hector is, of the heroic type of the brave man with wife and child, kingdom and love of life, who is doomed to die in another's quarrel. Zeus mourns his fated death and even thinks of saving him from the battle with Menelaos, but accedes to the suggestion of Hera that he should let him die, as it would be a sin to free from death a mortal whose doom has long been fated, and should command Death and Deep Sleep to convey him to his own country, where a tomb and monument should receive his body. It is the god Apollo, worshipped by the Lykians, who at the bidding of Zeus, cleanses the body of Sarpedon from the black blood of battle and washes it in the flowing river, anointing it with ambrosia, and wrapping fragrant garments about it before giving it to Sleep and Death to carry home. Apollo in the same book heals the wound of the other Lykian king, Glaukos. Two references to Lykian local custom have been noted in the sixteenth book—the epithet of Sarpedon's men, ἀμιτροχίτωνες, "without girdle," which the dress of the warriors sculptured on a Lykian tomb in the British Museum, in a scene depicting the Crowning of the Victor, has been thought to illustrate, and second, the manner of Lykian burial[1] indicated[2]:—

ἔνθα ἑ ταρχύσουσι κασίγνητοί τε ἕταί τε
τύμβῳ τε στήλῃ τε· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.

We know that the Dardanians and Mysians were old neighbors in Europe, where their names and tribes persisted until Roman times. The Dardanians entered into the Trojan heritage on the hill of Hissarlik at some time in the second millennium B. C. and the Mysians took

[1] Benndorff, *Lykische Gräber*, IX, 95 ff
[2] *Il.* 16, 674 f.

at last the river-valley of the Macestus[1] and the whole Troad to the Caicus and Teuthrania. The Lykians we have seen as neighbors coterminous with the Mysians at the Aesepus, where their citadel of Zeleia, "first of the fortified burgs in the Troad on the Mysian side" as Hasluck calls it, commanded the important river-valley which communicated with the Macestus valley road of the Mysians and so with that of Maeonia. The Mysians, who are mentioned often with the Dardanians and Lykians, are called μαντικώτατοι by Hesychius and we learn of ὠργεῶνες of the river Caicus from a fragment of a play by Aeschylus called "The Mysians." The Dardanians show in legend and in the allusions to them in Homer a religious strain. We may regard the Lykians on the Xanthus as the tribe of river and sun-worshippers who had pushed farthest southward in the centuries of turmoil in the third and second millenia B. C. when invaders from the steppes and the Balkans were pouring into the peninsula of Asia Minor.[2]

Sarpedon is sometimes on the score of his name believed to represent the native element among the Lykians. The name, however, as I hope to show, comes directly from the north. A Thracian Sarpedon, brother of Poltys, king of Thrace, is mentioned by Apollodorus,[3] who relates that Herakles, landing at Aenos and entertained by Poltys, killed the insolent Sarpedon, who was standing on the shore as he sailed away, by shooting him with an arrow from the ship. The name also occurs as that of an island, is defined by Stephen of Byzantium as a city of Thrace, and was the name of a well-known promontory at the mouth of the Hebrus, opposite the city of Aenos,

[1] Kretschmer, *Einl.*, 391 f.; Dusseaud, *op. cit.*, p. 458: "les Lyciens venus de Troade s'étaient répandus le long des côtes mèriodionales de l'Asie Mineure."

[2] Tlos, the eponym of the city Tlos, is called son of Termilus by Stephen of Byzantium. Such an attachment of an eponym of one tribe to that of another often marks in Greek genealogies the incoming of a new racial element.

[3] *Bibliotheca* 2, 5, 13.

where the insolent Sarpedon, son of Poseidon, was slain by Herakles.

Sarpedon is a name of a type very common among the geographical names in north Greece and Thrace. The words ending in -ων have been noted by Crusius, Kretschmer, and recently by Arkwright as Thrako-Illyrian and of these those ending in -δων form a special, northern group, of which may be cited Amydon (Paeonian), Mygdon (Thracian and Phrygian), Myrmidon (Thessalian), Anthedon and Aspledon (Boeotian). F. Bechtel[1] has recently called attention to a group of Thessalian place-names with this ending, to which he adds Boeotian Anthedon and also Kalchedon on the Bosporus. This group consists of place-names in -δων, derived from plant names which are -α stems. Bechtel enumerates Pharkadon from φάρκα, Phyliadon from φυλιά, Anthedon from ἄνθη and Kalchedon which he derives from the flower mentioned by Alcman:[2]

χρύσεον ὄρμον ἔχων ῥαδινᾶν πεταλοῖσι καλχᾶν.

Chalcedon is the only name of this type outside the narrowly circumscribed Thessalian-Boeotian group. No doubt if we knew the meaning of the first part of the other place-names in -δων, we should find that in many the names of plants and animals were used in the same way to form a word meaning "place of." The endings -ων and -δων clearly have a collective force as in Olizon, from ὄλιζαι, Place of the White Poplars (instanced by Bechtel),[3] Crannon, Place of the Springs, from Aeolic κράννα, and Helikon from ἑλίκη, Place where Willows Grow. Words of this sort would probably have been first collective abstracts, then geographical where the meaning admitted, and lastly, in some cases, personal, e. g. Myrmidon. One of the leaders of the Thessalian Magnetes in the Iliad has a name which must first have been geographical, meaning "Haunt of the Wild Bee" or

[1] *Griech. Dialekte* (1921), p. 175. [2] *Apud Athen.* 15, 682a. [3] Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

"Haunt of the Wasp." It is Tenthredon,[1] connected with τενθρήνη, defined in a scholium as ἀγρία μέλισσα. Herwerden[2] sees that Sarpedon is Thrako-Phrygian, but derives it from σαρπός, a wooden house, a word found in the gloss of Hesychius,—σαρπούς, οἰκίας ξυλίνας, οἱ Βιθυνοί. I believe, however, that after the analogy of the similarly formed words in Bechtel's geographical list (Pharkadon, etc.), the etymological and natural derivation of the word Sarpedon would be from the fish σάρπη. "The Place where the Wrasse Swarms" is a more natural name for the rocky headland at the mouth of the Hebrus opposite Aenos than "The Place of Wooden Houses." The word as a proper noun is given by Stephen of Byzantium as that of a city near Mount Athos and the naming is similar to that of Cape Sepias, so called from the cuttlefish, or our own Cape Cod. The forms σάρπη and σάλπη both occur for the word which forms the base of the place name Sarpedon. It is a fish that is found in great abundance in the Aegaean. Its habits and *habitat* are described by Aristotle.[3] It lives on seaweed and flourishes in river-mouths. Ovid mentions the fish in his Halieutikon in a way that testifies to its frequency—*merito vilissima salpa*. Athenaeus[4] quotes Archestratus about it:—"I always hate the sarp. Still one can eat it in the summer-time. Catch it, though, in Mytilene."

It is beautiful for its gold color and edible.[5] It is identical with the wrasse, which still haunts rocky coasts overgrown with seaweed and feeds, as Aristotle said, on seaweed and the refuse of the sea harbors.

From the name of this fish I would derive the name of the rocky headland opposite Aenos at the mouth of the Hebrus, where a Thracian prince Sarpedon was fabled to have been shot by Heracles. The name Chalcedon which Bechtel derives from the flower, is derived from the word

[1] Cf. Arist. *H. A.*, IX, 43. [2] Herwerden, *Lex. Graec.* II, 1304.
[3] Aristotle, *H.A.*, 573, 19 *et al.* [4] Athenaeus, 321 D.
[5] Schmidt, *Die Fische in Ovid's Halieuticon*, *Philologus*, 1909.

χάλχη in the sense of purplefish by Boeckh:[1] "Fluvius cum loco ex χάλχαις, ostreis, dictus."

The name Sarpedon which appears as the name of the Thracian headland and the name of the brother of the Thracian king Poltys is a link between the Lykians of the Xanthus and the north. We learn from Herodotus[2] that the Lykians entered into the country of the Termilae, whose name persisted in the neighborhood until his time. He believes that Sarpedon was a brother of king Minos and came from Crete and says that the Lykians were named for a son of Pandion, an Athenian hero. Since the name Sarpedon is northern, it is more probable that the Lykians were named for Lykos, son of Daskylos,[3] or another way of saying the same thing, from the river Lykos, afterward called Rhyndacus, or some other Lykos stream. The hero Lykos appears in Apollodorus as a son of Poseidon and the Pleiad Celaeno.[4]

Following the track of name and cult I find it probable that both Sarpedon the Thracian and Glaukos, the son of Hippolochos, son of Bellerophon, whose "true name" was Hipponoos, were representatives of tribes of Poseidon worshippers and river-worshippers.

Apollo, Artemis, and her double, Leto, birth and woman-goddess, came to Lykia with the northerners. The worship of Apollo remained long in the Aesepus valley and hymns and dedications[5] to the Aesepus and to Empelos, another stream from Ida, show the continued sanctity of the rivers of the Troad, the most remarkable example of which is the Scamander with his own priest, the offering of living horses plunged in his waters, and his second and divine name, Xanthos.[6]

[1] Boeckh, *C. I. G.*, II, 662. [2] Hdt. I, 173.

[3] *Apollodorus*, III, 5, 9. [4] *Ibid.*, III, X, 1–2.

[5] Hasluck, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 239. "Aesepus, like Embeilus was honored with a cult (Aristid., 503, Diod.). and is the name of a Cyzicene in Inscr. l. 1, p. 43, n. 2." Aesepus in *Il.* 6, 91, is the son of the oldest son of Laomedon; his mother is a Naiad. The three Naiads mentioned in the Iliad have sons on the Trojan side. *Il.* 6, 22; 14, 664; 20, 384.

[6] Cf. for Macedonian water-worships Tarn, W. W., *Antigonus Gonatas*, 176–178.

CHAPTER III

TRIBES OF THE TROJAN BATTLE-CRY
THE DARDANIANS

O terque quaterque beati
Quis ante ora patrum Trojae sub moenibus altis
Contigit oppetere! O Danaum fortissime gentis
Tydide, mene Iliacis occumbere campis
Non posuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra
Saevus ubi Aeacidae telo jacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simoeis correpta sub undis
Scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit.

THE third clan mentioned in the Trojan battle-cry are the close-fighting Dardanians. The epithet ἀγχιμαχηταί is of great historical value, as it connects the Dardanians of the Troad in an important matter of military tactics with their neighbors and kinsfolk in Europe, the Mysians. These neighbors to the north of the Dardanians in the Danubian country are called ἀγχέμαχοι by Homer. In the latter part of this chapter the use and distribution of this epithet and the persistence of the method of fighting which it connotes to the time of the Macedonian wars with Rome and later will be discussed.

I have already spoken of the distinction between Trojan and Dardanian in the Iliad and the fact that Dardanian is not employed for Trojan, although the term Trojan is sometimes used to denote the whole state, including the Dardanian leaders, who are Trojan Councillors, and their followers. There are three notable families among the Dardanians in the Iliad: that of Antenor, who has many sons fighting for Troy; that of Panthoos, men-

tioned as a member of Priam's council, and as we learn from sources outside of Homer, the priest of the citadel and Apollo, whose sons, Poulydamas and Euphorbos, are good warriors and under the especial protection of Apollo; and third, the family of Aeneas, whose father was beloved by Aphrodite, who bore Aeneas after lying with Anchises on the slopes of Ida. His sister, Hippodameia, was married to the best man in Troy because of her beauty and her intellect; she is said to be the oldest of Anchises' daughters. A son of an Anchises, Echepolos, is named as king in Sikyon, but in what relation this famous breeder of horses, who evaded service against Troy when summoned by Agamemnon, stood to the Dardanian house is not evident. He bears a name that also belongs to a Trojan in the Iliad.

The sons of Antenor named in the Iliad are Helikaon,[1] Laodokos,[2] Polybos, Agenor, and Akamas,[3] Iphidamas and Koon, the latter his eldest born,[4] Archelochos,[5] Laodamas,[6] Demoleon.[7] Of these there are killed in battle Akamas, Iphidamas, Koon, Archelochos, and Demoleon. Agenor is saved by the special intervention of Apollo, the god assuming the shape of Agenor when the latter is pursued by Achilles.

Of the two sons of Panthoos, Poulydamas was born on the same night as Hector and was as great in council as Hector was in battle. Although Helenos, the son of Priam, is said in the sixth book to be the best of the augurs, Poulydamas is the great seer and it is said of him that he alone knew the past and the future. He was watched over by Apollo, "who would not let the son of Panthoos be conquered by his foes." To the other son, Euphorbos, Apollo gave the honor of slaying Patroclus after the god himself had disarmed him. Hector only

[1] *Il.* 3, 123. [2] *Il.* 4, 87. [3] *Il.* 11, 58 ff. [4] *Il.* 11, 221, 249, 262.
[5] *Il.* 12, 99 f. [6] *Il.* 15, 518 f. [7] *Il.* 20, 395.

stripped him of his armor. The emphatic Πάνθου υἱόν instead of the patronymic Πανθοίδης several times suggests the importance of the father Panthoos. The two sons share with Priam the epithet εὐμμελίας, "with good ash spear." The death of Euphorbos is told in lines of epic beauty:[1]

ἆψ δ' ἀναχαζομένοιο κατὰ στομάχοιο θέμεθλα
νύξ', ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἔρεισε βαρείῃ χειρὶ πιθήσας.
ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἤλυθ' ἀκωκή,
δοῦπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.
αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι
πλοχμοί θ', οἳ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο.
οἷον δὲ τρέφει ἔρνος ἀνὴρ ἐριθηλὲς ἐλαίης
χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, ὅθ' ἅλις ἀναβέβροχεν ὕδωρ,
καλὸν τηλεθάον. τὸ δέ τε πνοιαὶ δονέουσι
παντοίων ἀνέμων, καί τε βρύει ἄνθεϊ λευκῷ.
ἐλθὼν δ' ἐξαπίνης ἄνεμος σὺν λαίλαπι πολλῇ
βόθρου τ' ἐξέστρεψε καὶ ἐξετάνυσσ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ.
τοῖον Πάνθου υἱὸν ἐϋμμελίην Εὔφορβον
Ἀτρεΐδης Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ κτάνε, τεύχε' ἐσύλα.

"Menelaos, Atreus' son, touched the youth's neck with his spear point and as he started back, pressed it hard with heavy hand, sure of his thrust; and the spear was driven through the soft young neck. He fell with shield and spear crashing upon his body; his lovely hair, fastened with gold and silver, wet with blood. Like a young olive-tree which a man plants in a solitary spot where water bubbles up and the tree grows in beauty; all the breezes toss its branches, and it is thick with white blossoming flowers, and of a sudden a whirlwind came and uprooted the tree from its place and stretched it on the ground. So lay Panthoos' son Euphorbos, the good spearman, after Atreides slew him and stripped him of his armour."

The hero Aeneas was clearly still held in honor as an ancestor by princes ruling in the Troad after the Trojan war was over. The passages in which he is praised and

[1] *Il.* 17, 43–60.

the fortune of his house foretold are unmistakably in the manner of a flatterer of a house which prided itself upon a glorious ancestor. He is not called son of Zeus as Sarpedon is, but his mother is a goddess of Mount Ida, and more deities interfered in the battles to save his life than appear in the peril of any other hero. Apollo, the tireless friend of the Trojans, who saved Hector and Agenor, intervened of course to save Aeneas; Aphrodite saved him in the fifth book by wrapping him in a fold of her garment and endured to be wounded for his sake; Apollo placed the wounded Aeneas in his temple on the citadel where he was tended, healed and "glorified" by Artemis and Leto, in one of the very few appearances of the latter goddess in the poem. Most strange of all, Poseidon, who fought on the Greek side, was moved with pity for the young Dardanian Aeneas, who, he says, is suffering for wrongs not his own, though he is always most careful in his offerings to the gods. He says that Zeus loved Dardanos best of all his sons and would not allow his seed to perish and disappear from the earth, although he hates the race of Priam. Aeneas, he declares, shall be lord over the Trojans, and his children's children shall be kings in Troy forever. Sarpedon, for whom Zeus had the heaven weep tears of blood when he was to fall before the spear of Patroclus, had to die, but Aeneas is saved by Poseidon who poured a mist about the eyes of Achilles, drew out the famous ash spear of that hero from the body of Aeneas and laid it down before the feet of its owner; he then lifted Aeneas and tossed him above the ranks of many heroes and over the heads of many horses to the rear of the battle. The god then came to the Dardanian prince in person and told him not to face Achilles in battle and no other Greek should slay him.

All this goes to show that the Dardanians and their leader Aeneas were in the Iliad, in the words of Andrew

Lang about Aeneas, a very special sort of people. Apollo protects members of all of the three great Dardanian families, but Poseidon shows favor to Aeneas alone. The feud between the rival families in Troy is suggested also by the taunt of Achilles that Aeneas is eager to gain the sovereignty that Priam holds.

The position of Theano, wife of Antenor, as priestess of the temple of Athene, that of Panthoos as priest of Apollo (not mentioned as such in the Iliad), and the rôle of Poulydamas as the great seer of the Greeks, are significant of a religious character in the legends about the Dardanians, in keeping with that to be traced in the tales found in later writers about Dardanos. They relate that Dardanos, the eponym, came to Samothrace and learned the mysteries, being the first to initiate strangers. Strabo and Dionysius say that the brothers, Dardanos and Iasion or Iason, came to the island and that Iason was consumed by a thunder-bolt in consequence of a sin against Demeter, after which episode Dardanos left Samothrace and, coming to the Troad, taught the mysteries on the mainland. The story probably indicates that Dardanians were settled on this island before coming to the Troad. One of the many names of Samothrace was Dardania.

This view gains support from archaeology, which shows such a strong connection between Troy and the Danube valley. "It is probable that the route left the middle Danube and followed more or less the Roman road from Nish to the Hellespont."[1] If, as the pottery, bored celts, etc. indicate, there existed an old caravan route from Dardania-Paeonia as far as Aenos and connecting with Troy, it could be inferred, apart from legend, that the Thracian islands were settled by the metal-users from the north, especially as some of the islands such as Thasos,

[1] Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 258.

were rich in metal. Samothrace, which had a variety of names, appears always to have been named from Europe,—Saoke from the Thracian Saioi, Dardania, Elektris, a name apparently connected with the amber trade, and from Homer's time the Thracian Samos.

Homer never speaks of Dardania in Europe, although the neighbors and kinsfolk of the Dardanians, the Paeonians, were an important part of the force defending Troy against the Aegaeans. Paeonia had a very large connotation in early centuries, as is evident from the statements of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Strabo, and their name often stood for the whole stretch of the Vardar country on both banks of the river. Livy speaks[1] of the Dardanians in the Roman war with Macedon demanding the restoration of Paeonia to them, because, they alleged, it had been theirs and its boundary marched with the Dardanian border:—*Dardanis repetentibus Paeoniam quod et sua fuisset et continens esset finibus suis.* The young Paeonian prince Ariston rode into Dardania for safety[2] when Lysimachus sounded the call to arms because the boy had received the royal baptism in the river, being consecrated as king by that rite, and had the royal table set before him.

The two countries are often mentioned together casually, as, "It rained frogs in Dardania and Paeonia."[3]

The town of Aenos[4] was possibly connected in some way with the Dardanian Aeneas, and Aeneia on the Thermaic gulf struck coins in the sixth century B. C. with the obverse showing the hero carrying his father and preceded by his wife Kreousa carrying Askanios, "the oldest representation of a Trojan myth that has come down to us."[5] The name of Aeneas has been variously explained. The view of Gruppe that it is short for Ainip-

[1] 45, c. 30. [2] Polyaenus, *Strat.* 4, 12. [3] Athenaeus VIII, 333a.
[4] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 186. [5] Head., *Hist. Num.*, p. 214.

pos would be appropriate to his ownership of wonderful horses. Gruppe thinks him a "hypostasis" of the wind-god Hermes.

The genealogy of the house of Aeneas in the twentieth book is this:

There are several significant items in this carefully prepared genealogy. First the newcomer Dardanos is called the son of Zeus. Poseidon in the same book mentions that he is the best beloved by Zeus of all his sons. This is a rather obvious appeal to the favor of Dardanian princes surviving in the time of the poet who composed the passage. Then the name of Erichthonios, given as that of a son of Dardanos, suggests that to the Dardanians is due the introduction of the cult of Poseidon Hippios into the Troad. The wonderful horses of Ericthonios, who is a double of Poseidon Hippios, the god who makes rivers by cleaving the earth with his trident,[1] are children of Boreas by the many mares which feed in the royal meadows. Ridgeway says that the mention of the North

[1] Hdt. VII, 129.

Wind points to a Thracian origin for the Trojan horse.[1] Then Tros, the eponym of the tribe that preceded the Dardanians in the Troad, is carefully subordinated to the latter and is made the grandson of Dardanos. Laomedon is, apparently, a cult title of Hades and is regarded by Malten[2] as a name for the chthonic Poseidon, a double of Hades. If Tithonos is connected with Titan, it is a sun-name; Lampos is a sun-name, and Klytios a chthonic title. Hiketaon suggests some priestly function, connected as it is with ἱκέτης a suppliant.

There is an obvious tendency in the genealogy to give chthonian and sun epithets as names for the Trojan kings. This will be discussed later in other connections.

In the line of Aeneas the grandfather Assarakos has a name that has been referred to Assyria. Kretschmer,[3] however, refutes this by pointing to the Thrako-Phrygian character of the very usual hypocoristic ending –ko–. The name Kapys is of a type common in Thrace and Phrygia, of which Kotys, Beithys, Phorkys, Palmys, Morys, are examples. Arkwright notes the frequent occurrence of the name Beithys in Thrace, Upper Moesia, and Dardania and Mysia. The name of the son of Kapys, Anchises, is explained by the *Etymologicum Magnum* as derived from ἄγχι- near, in the sense of being near the goddess, whose beloved he was. This is in accord with the rôle which Sir Arthur Evans has suggested for Anchises—that he is the same mythic figure as Atthis, Adonis, Tammuz, different forms of the Lover of the Anatolian Nature Goddess, of whom the Aphrodite on Ida is assuredly a form.

If, however, the true Dardanian genealogy, leaving out the obviously inserted Erichthonios and Tros, has

[1] Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, Cambridge Biol. Series, 1905, p. 290.

[2] Malten, L., *Das Pferd im Totenglauben*, *Jahrbuch*, 1914.

[3] *Einleitung*, p. 185, n. 1.

names that are Thrako-Phrygian in character, Dardanos, Assarakos, Kapys, it may be argued that the name of the father of Aeneas, whose own name has an apparent connection with that of Thracian and north Greek places and tribes, is also northern and Dardanian. I therefore suggested[1] that, as it is apparently a hypokoristicon, it may belong to a full form Anchimachetes, and that it refers to him as a member of this fighting clan. The name Anchemachos,[2] a citizen of Kallipolis, is cited by Fick-Bechtel from an inscription. The form Anchites occurs in Empedocles quoted by Diogenes[3] Laertius. However the name may be short for ἀγχίθεος and the use of that word in the Hymn to Aphrodite,[4] referring to the offspring of Anchises and Aphrodite, may be adduced in favor of the interpretation of Anchises as "Lover of the Goddess." This now seems to me more probable than the derivation which I suggested in 1914.

Closefighting

The epithet of the Dardanians in Homer, ἀγχιμαχηταί, describes a kind of fighting that has been a central European inheritance and in the Great War, 1914–1918, was constantly seen as the natural mode of fighting of the Germans. Of their fighting in phalanx Caesar speaks as characteristic of them in his time. The word ἀγχιμαχητής, means "fighting in close formation," "in dense array," and not, primarily, hand-to-hand. Indeed the long spears were intended to throw the enemy down before he could get near enough to fight. Sir William Ridgeway[4] suggests that the Macedonian *sarisa* was a descendant of the long spears used by the Paeonians in Homer. The article on the *sarisa* in Pauly-Wissowa,

[1] *T. A. P. A.*, 1915, p. 46, 127.
[2] Fick-Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 45.
[3] *Diog. Laert.* VIII, 61. [4] *Hymn* V, 200. [5] *Early Age*, p. 445.

which was apparently written in the course of the recent war, is very illuminating with its comparison of the German "Stoss-taktik" and the Macedonian method of fighting with their national weapon, the *sarisa*. The Macedonians must, I believe, have adopted their method from the Dardanians, who were constant enemies on their frontiers, or have shared in the Danubian tradition of mass-fighting. Tomaschek[1] apparently thinks that the European Dardanians of the period of the Macedonian Wars with Rome learned their close formation from the Macedonians, as he speaks of "this tribe (i. e. the Dardanian) which was well acquainted with Macedonian tactics and brought into the field well-disciplined and heavily armed forces." Homer, however, who knows nothing of Macedonians, knows the closefighting of the Dardanians.

A passage in Livy[2] describing the Dardanian tactics in the year two hundred B. C. is an effective comment on the Homeric epithet ἀγχιμαχητής. "Ubi rursus procedere Dardani coepissent, equite ac levi armatura regii nullum tale auxilium habentes Dardanos oneratosque immobilibus armis vexabant. . . . Occisi perpauci sunt, plures vulnerati, captus nemo, quia non excedunt temere ordinibus suis, sed confertim et pugnant et cedunt." The "immobile" weapons of which Livy speaks in this passage, so illuminating for the virtues and defects of mass-fighting and "shock-battalions," must have been the long pikes which the Macedonians called sarisae, which were used to push the ranks of the enemy back and overthrow them by the pressure of the heavy weapon and the mass movement of the phalanx. I quote from the article on the *sarisa* in Pauly-Wissowa as follows:—"In this pure 'stoss-taktik' there was no halting and no time

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, CXXVIII, p. 24.
[2] Livy XXXI, 43.

or space for protracted single combats, or finished methods of fighting."

An excellent description is given in Homer[1] of a Thracian tribe which we know from other sources had once settled Euboea, which was called Abantis from their name. These are the Abantes from Euboea, called ἀγχέμαχοι by Strabo[2] and Plutarch.[3] In the Catalogue of the Ships Homer says of them, μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῇσιν μελίῃσι "storming on with spears held straight out." Strabo has an interesting discussion of the difference between fighting with the "flung" weapon, and the weapon held in the hand, such as the sword and the spear stretched out—δόρατι τῷ ὀρεκτῷ. He says that the long pole or κοντός and the sarisa can be either hurled or used in the hand and he defines ἀγχέμαχοι as those who hold the weapons in their hands in the standing fight, σταδίῃ ὑσμίνῃ.

The Mysians on the Danube are called ἀγχέμαχοι at the beginning of the thirteenth book of the Iliad; in the form ἀγχιμαχηταί the Dardanians have the same epithet six times. The epithet is also used to describe a settlement of men in Arcadia, about the tomb of Aipytos, who are landsmen and have no ships of their own, but are given ships by Agamemnon. Aipytos is a son of the fugitive Elatos, who is identified with the Lapith prince of Larissa, and their leader Agapenor has a name of the type which, as I show later, is in Homer almost entirely restricted to Trojans and men from the northern parts of Greece. The form ἀγχέμαχοι is used by Homer three times modifying θεράποντες, referring in each case to the Myrmidons. The Myrmidon close array is splendidly described in the sixteenth book of the Iliad. At the command of their prince the Myrmidons tighten their lines until their helmets and shields are as close to-

[1] *Il.* 2, 543. [2] Strabo, X, ch. 1. [3] Plutarch, *Theseus*, ch. 4.

gether as the stones which the mason sets side by side to make the wall of a high house to keep out the blasts of the wind. As they bend their heads, shield strikes shield, helmet strikes helmet, man presses on man, so close do they stand. It is after this picture of their dense lines that the epithet ἀγχέμαχοι is first used[1] of them, occurring in the prayer of Achilles, who prays that Patroklos after driving away battle from the ships may return unharmed to the swift ships, bringing with him all his armour and his closefighting companions.

τεύχεσί τε ξὺν πᾶσι καὶ ἀγχεμάχοις ἑτάροισιν.

It is said of Patroklos that he withdrew into the tribe of his comrades, shunning death—

ἄψ ἑτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο κῆρ ἀλεείνων.

This line, which is used elsewhere of other single-fighters, shows an important function of the phalanx in providing a place in its midst for the hard-pressed warrior. The Macedonian πεζέταιροι preserved the name and the function of the Homeric ἕταροι. The closefighting men did not usually engage in duels. They threw themselves *en masse*, ἀολλέες, on the enemy. It is a rather curious fact that when the *onward* rush is described in Homer with the word ἀολλέες, it is the attack of the Trojans that is so described. With the words of resisting or waiting, such as ὑπέμειναν, the word ἀολλέες is occasionally, though rarely, employed to describe the Greek tactics, but the only passage in which it is used of the attack of the Greeks is the one in which the Myrmidons fall on the Trojans[2] ἀολλέες, after the exhortation of Patroklos, in which he has expressly lauded them as "closefighting"—ἀγχέμαχοι—and has told them to show Agamemnon what he has lost by his slight of Achilles. The Trojans come

[1] *Il.* 16, 248. [2] *Il.* 16, 276.

on ἀολλέες, like a field of fire or a whirlwind, and Hector and Poulydamas several times urge their men to fight ἀολλέες.[1] The word is employed nine times with different verbs in the indicative or imperative to describe the Trojan attack, three times in the line[2]

Τρῶες δὲ προΰτυψαν ἀολλέες· ἦρχε δ' ἄρ' Ἕκτωρ.

and only once for an attack by the Greeks, namely by the Myrmidons in the sixteenth book.

When the word refers to the actions of the Greeks, as it does twice in the phrase ὑπέμειναν ἀολλέες,[3] it does not express the dash of the "shock-battalions" when, as the poet says, the Trojans pitched forward in close pack like a field of flame or a whirlwind.[4] The word means *confertus*, *condensatus*, and I hold that it is an early expression for the later phalanx and the fighting referred to as ἀγχεμαχηταί and ἀγχέμαχοι and that its practical restriction to the Trojans in the Iliad in offensive warfare goes back to tradition and comes from some Trojan songs of the kind that Drerup[5] suggests the wandering bards heard and sang in Troy. The Myrmidons share the epithets ἀολλέες and ἀγχέμαχοι because they are essentially northerners and their strength lies in their splendidly organized phalanx-fighting. They formed a living wall and no foe dared come near to their hedge of spears to seize his man. Their great pikes rested on the shoulders of the men in front in the arrangement which the Macedonians called συμφράττειν τὰς ἀσπίδας. The Macedonian sarisa is said by Theophrastus,[6] a contemporary of Alexander the Great, to have been from ten to twelve cubits in length. No doubt the Dardanian

[1] *Il.* 15, 494, 718; 12, 78. [2] *Il.* 13, 136; 15, 306; 17, 262.
[3] *Il.* 5, 498; 15, 121. [4] *Il.* 13, 39.
[5] *Homerische Poetik*, I. p. 210. Drerup assumes that songs of Troy were composed by wandering singers, who were entertained at the "Mycenaean" court of Troy or had fought together with their compatriots before the walls of Troy.
[6] *Hist. Plant.*, III, 12, 2.

and Paeonian pikes were as long and were used in the same fashion. Caesar[1] writes of the fighting of the Germans:— "But the Germans swiftly formed their national phalanx against our sword-attack. We found many Roman soldiers who were willing to leap on the wall of shields, tear away the protecting shields, and thrust at the Germans with downward blows:" "At Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta impetus gladiorum excepit. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites qui in phalangem insilirent et scuta manibus revellerent et desuper vulnerarent." The Swiss[2] had the same method of close-fighting.

The scholion on Iliad 13, 130 explains the phalanx arrangement as follows. The men in front held their spears evenly and straight out; those behind them in the second rank held their spears to the right of the men in front of them, their spears being two cubits longer than those of the front rank; the men in the third rank held their spears to right and left, so that one man (in front) supported three spearheads. The fourth and fifth ranks held theirs straight out, in order to fill any gap which might come in the front ranks if men were killed or wounded. This comment is on the line—

φράξαντες δόρυ δουρί, σάκος σάκεϊ προθελύμνῳ.

The verse describes the fine arrangement of the Greeks under the guidance of the god Poseidon. The Trojans come forward ἀολλέες and Hector, who is surprised at the new Greek formation, calls upon the Trojans, Lykians, and closefighting Dardanians, to hold fast, saying that the Greeks shall not withstand him even though they have drawn themselves up like a castellated wall, πυργηδόν. The term πυργηδόν is used three times in the Iliad to describe the Greek formation, always with a conscious-

[1] *B.G.* 1, 52. [2] *Ib.* 1, 241: *Helvetii phalange facta.*

ness of the novelty and strength of the arrangement. In the third passage[1] the word is explained by a simile—"For they held fast, fixed like a wall with towers, like a great high rock close to the foaming sea, which endures the swift ways of the blowing winds and the swelling billows that dash over it."

In the passage about the Dardanian formation at the beginning of the second century B. C. the same defects are noticed by Livy as those which Plutarch criticises thus:[2] "For the Macedonian phalanx is like a single animal, invincible in strength so long as it is one body and maintains its order of shield touching shield in a single division, but if it is once broken up, the individuals who compose the fighting line lose each his single strength on account of the nature of his armor and because he is strong rather as he makes a part of the whole than in himself." Polybius[3] makes the same criticism in his account of the advantages of the Roman arrangement over that of the Macedonians: διὰ τί καὶ πῶς λείπειται τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς φάλαγγος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καθοπλισμοῦ. In his description of the Macedonian formation he quotes the Homeric lines which describe the array of the Myrmidons. Plutarch[4] especially mentions the Paeonians in his picture of the Macedonian phalanx, which struck terror to the heart of the conquering Aemilius Paulus.

We read of Dardanians at Rome[5] stating their grievances against King Perseus and the hostile tribe of Bastarnae; we read of King Perseus making a casual and holiday expedition against them—ac velut otiosus plane ac vacuus, corolarii vicem in Dardanos excursionem fecit[6]—to distract himself, so to say, killing some ten thousand of these "barbarians" and bringing off a mass of plunder. Their name appears in the books of Livy which he got

[1] *Il.* 15, 619. [2] *Flam.* 8, 5. [3] Polyb. 26, 9. [4] *Aem. Paul*, 8, 5.
[5] Polyb. 26, 9. [6] Livy 43, 4.

from the lost books of Polybius as allies of Rome and bitter enemies of the Macedonians. Their epitaph may be said to come in the epitome of Livy's ninety-first book,—"*C. Curio, consul, Dardanos in Thracia domuit.*" This man triumphed at Rome in the year 71 B. C. for his extermination of the tribe by acts of such hideous inhumanity that the horror of his campaign serves Ammianus with a precedent to justify the mutilation of rebellious Roman soldiers by order of the Emperor Theodosius as follows:—Dardanorum ferociam in modum Lernaeae serpentis aliquotiens nascentem hoc genere poenarum (Curio) exstinxit.[1] Ammianus adds that evil-minded folk who were willing to praise Curio for his atrocity toward the Dardanians, as they were the deadly foes of Rome, yet hesitated to applaud the emperor, saying that it was not so laudable to mutilate by loss of limb or eye men who were legionaries under the Roman standards as to mutilate those who fought against Rome!

"Blindly and bloodily we drift!"

Of the ancient Dardanians in Europe we know their fighting power, their use of the central European method of mass-fighting, that they had two other tribes in serfage to them, that they had a knowledge both of wind and stringed musical instruments, and that they had a bad reputation for lack of bathing. The three baths which the proverb about them said they had in a lifetime were doubtless ritual, at birth, at marriage and at the end of life, and the custom may have some connection with the consecrating use of the river-bath among the Paeonians and Thracians. We have the names of chiefs and two words preserved from their language, both of which are names of plants. We hear of Dardanian gold ornament and of Dardanian cheese. Coins of Hadrian and of Trajan exist which are inscribed *Dardanici* and there were *procuratores metal-*

[1] Amm. 29, 5, 22.

lorum inter Macedoniam, Daciam Mediterraneam, Moesiam seu Dardaniam; which testifies to the importance of the mining industry in the country of the Dardani and their close neighbors, in the time of the Roman empire. It can hardly be doubted that the branch of the tribe that settled in Troy in the second millennium B. C. brought with it a knowledge of a method of mass-fighting such as that which made the Macedonians conquerors of Greece under Philip the Second, who introduced the phalanx into Macedonian tactics, and conquerors of the east under Alexander the Great. It is also probable that they brought with them from their European home a knowledge of mines and metals. Troy seems to have obtained its metal first from the east and at a later date from the west.[1] The Paeonians and Dardanians, in whose country copper, gold and silver were abundant[2] no doubt supplied their kinsfolk and allies in the Troad with metals. The bright armor of the young prince of Paeonia, Asteropaios from the Axios, is described by Achilles in the twenty-second book of the Iliad: "I will give a breastplate which I stripped from Asteropaios slain—of bronze and about its edge a casting of molten tin is rolled." Again, "I will give a sword silver-studded, a beautiful thing, made in Thrace, which I took from Asteropaios slain."

The Thracians contributed to the religion and poetry of the Greeks the Dionysiac worship and the myths of Thamyris and Orpheus; the Paeonians, neighbors of the Dardanians, gave the Greeks their knowledge of plants and herbs and their chants against evil befalling the crops and flocks, chants addressed to their sun-god, which in the form of the paean developed in the Greek literature into a form of high emotional beauty; the Dardanians left no impress on the literature of the Greeks except in the

[1] *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 259.

[2] Svoronos, *Journal International Numismatique*, 1919, pp. 166 ff.

Iliad of Homer. A reminiscence of their former greatness remains in the name of the strait which has been called "the most important channel of water in the world"—the Dardanelles.

According to various myths and legends the tribe wandered far—to Arcadia and to Italy. Kretschmer[1] speaks of the mediating part that the Illyrian immigrants played between the Balkan and the Apennine peninsulas. An important tribe of the Dardanians were the Galabrioi and they, it seems, gave their name to Calabria.[2] The tribe whose restless energy and fierce strength were subdued in almost utter extermination by the Roman consul, were established in earlier millennia in power in the Troad, where their natural endowment came to its fullest flowering and in the Italian peninsula they had a share in the founding of a great race. The seed of Priam perished, but that of Antenor and Aeneas survived to become ancestors of a new people in a new land.[3]

The Dardanians in Europe are not mentioned in Greek literature proper and they first emerge in the account which Polyaenus[4] gives of the escape of the Paeonian Ariston from Lysimachus in 284 B.C. into Dardania after receiving the royal consecration by baptism in the Paeonian river Astibos. It is not strange that the name of a rude Danubian tribe should not appear in the Greek authors before Polyaenus, especially as the neighboring and apparently kindred Paeonians had an indeterminate stretch of country and their name was used, as was that of Macedon[5] afterward, to connote various tribes that were connected with them by blood or boundary. It

[1] *Einl.*, 282.

[2] Fick, *Hattiden und Danubier*, 31.

[3] Thallon, *Antenor*, *A. J. A.* XXVIII, (1924), pp. 47–65.

[4] Polyaen., IV, 12, 3.

[5] Strabo, VII, 326: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν μέχρι Κορκύρας Μακεδονίαν προσαγορεύουσιν, αἰτιολογοῦντες ἅμα ὅτι καὶ κουρᾷ καὶ διαλέκτῳ καὶ χλαμύδι καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις χρῶνται παραπλησίως· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δίγλωττοί εἰσι.

cannot be fortuitous that we have Dardanians in Europe and in the Troad.[1] The Briges are universally recognized to be of the same stock as the Phrygians in Asia Minor; the relationship of the Mysians in Europe and the Mysians below the Troad is admitted, and Mr. Arkwright has given philological evidence for the identity of the names Paeonia and Maeonia. The Dardani of the Danube valley are of the same European *provenance* as the others and it can hardly be reasoned from the silence of Greek literature that they did not migrate into Asia Minor as the others did and, like them, become of more importance in their new home than in their original habitation.

The name of the mound that was the gathering place for the Trojans is a cogent proof of the identity of the European Dardani and the Asiatic. It is, as "men call it" Batieia, a word evidently connected with the name Baton, which is the name of a European Dardanian chief mentioned by Livy[2] and a common appellative of Illyrian[3] and Paeonian princes. The wife of Dardanus was called Bateia and the *Etymologicum Magnum* defines the word as signifying a royal house descended from a prince Baton.

The two names Dardanus and Batieia must have come together from Dardania in Europe with the Dardanian invaders before the time of Homer.

[1] Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 35. [2] 31, 28. [3] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 245 f.

CHAPTER IV

TRIBES OF THE TROJAN BATTLE-CRY
THE HORSE-TAMING TROJANS

"Thou Rider golden and swift and sheer,
Achilles falters: appear! appear!
The car like flame where the red shield leapeth,
The fell white steeds and the burning spear!"

κρατεῖ δὲ μηχαναῖς ἀγραύλου
θηρὸς ὀρεσσιβάτα, λασιαύχενά θ'
ἵππον ὑπάξεται ἀμφίλοφον ζυγὸν
οὔρειόν τ' ἀκμῆτα ταῦρον.

TROY is often called Ilios by Homer. It never was called Dardania and it seems clear that the Troes, or Trojans were in possession of the citadel before the Dardanians[1] came. Perhaps the name Troes goes back to the first settlement and perhaps to the inhabitants of the Burnt City. That city, as Peake says, must have had many centuries of existence, as its walls were twice rebuilt, each time on a fresh foundation.[2] The city was destroyed in the last centuries of the third millennium or at the beginning of the second millennium B. C.; perhaps by the wandering drought-driven horsemen from the steppes, whose coming Peake infers from the Nordic character of one or two of the skulls found in this stratum and from the evidence of the connection

[1] Stephen of Byzantium (*s.v.* Τρωϊάς) says that the "Troad" was a region of Ilium that was called Tenkris, Dardania, and Xanthe.

[2] Leaf, *Troy*, p. 60 ff.

between the Tripolje culture and that of Thessaly and Troy. He holds that the steppemen after destroying the Tripolje culture brought with them to Troy or may have brought with them in their train the pot-makers from the Tripolje region. He says that there is no doubt that a people resembling them (i. e. the nomads from the steppe), soon after they appeared in the Tripolje region were found in Thessaly, bringing with them pottery which appears to be derived from that of the Tripolje culture. Others of this type seem to have been responsible for the destruction of Hissarlik II; while pottery which also shows affinities with that of Tripolje occurs later at Hissarlik and at Yortan on the Caicus. Moreover the kurgans, characteristic of these steppe-folk, have been found all over Thrace and even over Asia Minor from the Hellespont southwards to Lydia and Caria, as well as eastward up the Sangarius into the plateau of Phrygia.[1]

The continuity of development of the typical Trojan shapes and material in the pots of Troy I-VI[2] indicates that at least a remnant of the earliest culture persisted through the vicissitudes of the dwellers on Hissarlik. Virchow, as I have already said, found some evidence of horse culture in the prehistoric strata, by which he means the first and second.[3] If the hypothesis of Peake, which is adopted by Woolley in his consideration of the culture of Asia Minor and Syria and the Aegean, is correct, the horse may have been brought to Troy by the wandering steppemen. Again it is possible that Thrace had supplied Troy with horses before the coming of the south Russians.

The theft of the horses ascribed in the Iliad to the Dardanian Anchises, who stole the breed of the horses of

[1] Peake, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, p. 73; Myres, *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 82; Woolley, L., *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, March, 1922, p. 48.

[2] Forsdyke, *J. H. S.*, 1914, pp. 126 ff.

[3] Schliemann, *Troy*, p. 349.

Laomedon which had been given to Tros by Zeus, probably reflects the historical fact that the Trojans were breeders of horses before the coming of the Dardanians. The account of the theft is given in the fifth book by Diomede, who is always eager to get horses. He speaks to Sthenelos: "Spring at Aeneas and take care to drive his horses from the Trojans to the well-greaved Greeks; for they are of the breed that Zeus gave Tros in pay for Ganymede, the son of Tros. So they are the best horses that there are beneath the dawn and sun. Anchises stole the breed of them, bringing his mares to them, though Laomedon knew naught of what he did. And so he got six horses for his stud; four of them he kept in his own stalls, and two he gave Aeneas, horses eager for the battle. If we capture these, we should attain great glory."

The horses of Laomedon are spoken of again in the fifth book in the speech of Tlepolemos to Sarpedon. The hero tells of his father Herakles coming to smite Troy for the sake of the horses. "He came hither for the sake of the steeds of Laomedon, with six ships only and a handful of men and smote Ilium and made her streets desolate." Achilles, a chief of "men who live with herds and cattle," speaks of cows and horses as a cause of war, when he says that he had no quarrel with the Trojans, who never have driven his cows and horses, since shadowy mountains and the echoing sea divided his land from theirs. Ilium is called εὔπωλος, "with good horses," twice in the Iliad and three times in the Odyssey. The adjective is used only in this half line, Ἴλιον εἰς εὔπωλον and is doubtless traditional. The praise of the Trojans uttered by Odysseus[1], according to Penelope's reminiscence, says that they are javelin-throwers, archers, and mounters of swift-footed horses, which probably refers to chariot driving rather than riding on horseback.

[1] *Od.* 18, 261 ff.

καὶ γὰρ Τρῶάς φασι μαχητὰς ἔμμεναι ἄνδρας,
ἠμὲν ἀκοντιστὰς ἠδὲ ῥυτῆρας ὀιστῶν
ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων ἐπιβήτορας, οἵ κε τάχιστα
ἔκριναν μέγα νεῖκος ὁμοίου πολέμοιο.

The Thracians, Paeonians, Trojans, Maeonians, and Phrygians have each an epithet in the Iliad which marks them as masters of horses. The Thracians are ἱππόπολοι; the Paeonians and Maeonians are ἱπποκορυσταί, the Phrygians ἱππόμαχοι and αἰολόπωλοι. The Trojan epithet ἱππόδαμοι is used upwards of twenty times in the Iliad. It is found in the genitive, accusative, and vocative, occurring in the vocative in the warcry which Apollo addresses to the Trojans:—

ὄρνυσθ' ἱππόδαμοι Τρῶες μηδ' εἴκετε χάρμης.[1]

The word is an epithet of several Trojans, among them Hector, and appropriately enough is the last word of the Iliad in that line of wonderful simplicity, which by a master-stroke ends the poem:

Ὣς οἵ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.

Of the Greeks Diomede chiefly has the epithet and in the legend of Diomede, whether in Thrace or in Argos or Aetolia or in Italy horses appear.

In the Iliad the horse is conspicuous in the legend of Laomedon in the fifth book and again when Tlepolemos tells how his father came in wrath for the steeds:

Ἑλλάδος ἄγαγε πρῶτον ἄνθος ἀτυζόμενος πώλων.[2]

In the twenty-first book the Trojan sacrifice of the horse to rivers is spoken of tauntingly by Achilles in his bitter words to Lykaon, son of Priam:—"Nor shall the flowing river with his silver current aid thee, though ye sacrifice to him bulls continually and plunge within his waters living horses."[3] This sacrifice to streams is a link between

[1] 4, 509. [2] Eur., *Troades*, 809 f. [3] *Il.* 21, 122 ff.

Troy and Illyria;[1] in the latter country the rite was in honor of Poseidon.[2] If, as I believe, Farnell and others are right in holding that Poseidon was a fresh-water god imported into Greece by the earliest tribes coming from the Balkans, light is thrown by this origin on the rescue of Dardanian Aeneas by Poseidon, the enemy of the Trojans. Aeneas is a descendant of Dardanus, but not of faithless Laomedon. Erichthonios, son of Dardanos and ancestor of Aeneas, became the richest of men by his horse-breeding and had three thousand mares with their foals in his meadows. His name, as J. B. Bury has shown, is the same in origin as Erechtheus, an epithet of Poseidon from ἐρέχθω to shake, a verb used in the Iliad[3] of ships tossed by the winds. Erichthonios, son of Dardanos, in the carefully invented genealogy of Aeneas, is doubtless a reminiscence of the cult of Poseidon Hippios at Troy. A suggestion made by Professor J. A. K. Thomson that the Wooden Horse was connected with the cult of Poseidon Hippios is very illuminating and explains the eagerness of the Trojans in welcoming the holy object.[4]

"A towering Steed of golden rein,
O gold without!—dark steel within,
Ramped in our gates; and all the plain
Lay silent where the Greeks had been.

[1] Servius on Georg. I, 13: *Unde Illyrios quotannis ritu sacrorum equum solere aquis immergere.*

[2] Nillson, *Griech. Feste*, p. 71 f., p. 358 f.

[3] *Il.* 23, 317.

[4] Eur., *Troades*, 519–526:

ὅτ' ἔλιπον ἵππον, οὐράνια
βρέμοντα, χρυσεοφάλαρον, ἔνο-
πλον ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοί
ἀνὰ δ' ἐβόασεν λεὼς
Τρῳάδος ἀπὸ πέτρας σταθείς . . .
'ἴτ', ὦ πεπαυμένοι πόνων
τόδ' ἱερὸν ἀνάγετε ξόανον
Ἰλιάδι Διογενεῖ κόρᾳ.'

Amid Alexander Kerr Thomson

And a cry broke from all the folk
Gathered above on Ilion's rock—
Up, up, O fear is over now!
To Pallas who has saved the living
To Pallas bear this victory vow!"[1]

I have spoken of Peake's theory that horsemen from the steppes destroyed the culture of Hissarlik II and I have suggested that these invaders left the horse and horse-breeding in the Trojan valley. Since the appearance of my article[2] on the horse-taming Trojans, "the coming of the horse" has been discussed by Professor Myres in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. I quote what he says of the westward flow of the tumulus-folk, who "southward crossed the Danube, spread their tumuli widely over Bulgaria and Thrace, and penetrated into northwestern Asia Minor, where their tumuli overlook the Hellespont and follow the Sangarius valley as far as the Phrygian plateau. The rapidity and violence of these irruptions from the northern grassland, far exceeding in extent and effects all earlier movements of which we have any clear indication, were themselves probably due less to the sudden urgency of unsettlement, than to the acquaintance of the unsettled peoples with unprecedented means of rapid and concerted motion, namely the domestic horse as steed, rather than as milk-giver." Professor Myres notes that it was "only on the grassland itself and in Hungary, Thrace, Thessaly, and other intermont plains in the Balkan lands; on the Phrygian and Cappadocian plateaux in Asia Minor; in the larger basins of northern Syria; and in a few secluded troughs within the Median and Persian mountains that local centres of horse-breeding and horsemanship were established permanently."

[1] Gilbert Murray's translation. [2] *C.Q.* 1923, pp. 50 ff.

All this gives a long background to the horse-breeding of the Trojan kings. Félix Sartiaux in his book on Troy[1] published in 1915 noticed that the principal industry of the Troad was the breeding of horses. Kretschmer[2] earlier suggested that Troes coming from Europe across the Hellespont might have been the settlers who brought the name of Troy to the citadel. Whether steppemen from south Russia or "Thracians," it is clear that invaders or settlers brought the horse to Troy before it was known in southern Greece.[3]

In his study of the Thracian proper names Tomaschek[4] observes the large number of names compounded with "Aulo," which he regards as equivalent to ἵππο-. He says that it is natural to find such names, since the chief business of the ruling Thracians was the breeding of horses, their food was flesh of horses, and horses' blood and horses' milk their drink. The names in the Iliad which have ἵππος for the first or second member are, for the great part, the names of Trojans, and their Thracian, Paeonian, Lykian and Mysian allies. Only four Greeks have such names and with two of these there seems to be some oversight on the part of the poet. Hipponoos, which is a cult-name of Poseidon and the name of a son of Priam in Apollodorus III, 12, 5, occurs in a puzzling list of Greeks slain by Hector, the names in which that come elsewhere in the poem are Trojan. Hippasides also constitutes a puzzle, used as a patronymic for Hypsenor, a Greek in Iliad 13, 411, but a name for a Trojan in the fifth book and of a type characteristically Trojan or Dardanian with the ending -ηνωρ; Hippasos himself is a Trojan in Iliad 11, 450, father of Charops and Sokos, and according to Hyginus a son of Priam was named Hippasos.

[1] *Troie*, p. 130: "C'est la forteresse de Troie. Des guerriers l'habitent. Un domaine l'entoure, comprenant la plaines et les collines environantes; sa principale industrie est l'élevage de chevaux."

[2] *Einleitung*, 181, 182 ff. [3] Drerup, *op. cit.* p. 296. [4] *Op. cit.*, II. 2, pp. 5 ff.

The other two Greeks having names with the word for horse as an element are Pheidippos, who in the Catalogue is a son of Thessalos and a Heraclid, a leader of the Greeks from the islands afterward called the Sporades, and Melanippos, a name which is given to three Trojans, one of them a son of Hiketaon, Priam's brother, but also found in a list of Greeks in Iliad 19, 239–240. The Trojans having names of this type are Hippasos, Hippasides, Hippodamas, Hippodamos, Hippothoos, son of Priam, the brothers Hippolochos and Hippomachos, and three named Melanippos. The Paeonian Apisaon, best fighting Paeonian after prince Asteropaeos, has the patronymic Hippasides; Euippos is Lykian and there is a Lykian Hippolochos. Hippokoon is Thracian, Hippotion Mysian; there is a Pelasgian Hippothoos. There is a compound of πῶλος, Echepolos, who is in one place an excellent fighter among the πρόμαχοι of the Trojans; in another the name is that of a son of Anchises who lived in Sikyon and gave one of the lovely mares of his stud to Agamemnon, in order to buy off the necessity of going against Troy. His beautiful mare is mentioned in the twenty-third[1] book just after the mention of the horses of Aeneas which Diomede took from that hero. The horses of Aeneas are described in the fifth book by covetous Diomede as belonging to the breed that Zeus had given Tros to pay him for the rape of Ganymede. It was with the horses of Aeneas that Diomede won the chariot race in the twenty-third book and they are twice called Trojan. In the second passage it is emphasized that they are ἄρσενες, in contrast to the famous mares of Priam's family.

τὰς δὲ μετ' ἐξέφερον Διομήδεος ἄρσενες ἵπποι,
Τρώϊοι.

Two other words denote skill with the horse when used with the names of heroes. These are ἱππόται and ἱππηλάται, the first of which occurs in the Iliad very constantly with

[1] *Il.* 23, 296.

the name of Nestor and comes in the Odyssey in the third book, and once in the fourth, as his epithet. In the Iliad it is an epithet of the family of Diomede,—that is to say, of his father Tydeus and his grandfather Oeneus. Peleus has it twice and Phyleus, whose son Meges in the Catalogue leads the men and ships from Dulichium and the Echinae Islands (Echinades), once. Phyleus has a right to the epithet, either as a representative of his adopted land of Dulichium, if Mr. T. W. Allen[1] is right in identifying that island with Leukas, or in his old home in Ἦλις ἱππόβοτος. Mr. Allen quotes Engel who "found Leukas full of meadows and found more horses grazing than in Argos or Thessaly." In the book "Wohnsitz des Odysseus" from which Mr. Allen here quotes, the author further says that the walls excavated by Dörpfeld give him the impression that they belonged to the stables of some great pre-Mycenaean horse-breeder. He believes that the *pithoi* found in the excavation were part of the furnishing of the ἱππών of a horse-breeder and horse-trader. Whatever may be the truth of the Ithaka-Leukas question, Engel has established some important points about the continuity of the trade of horse-breeding in the vicinity from which ἱππότα Φυλεύς is said in the Catalogue to come.

The epithet ἱππηλάτα is less frequent than ἱππότα, having about the same limitations, as it, too, is an epithet of the father and grandfather of Diomede, Tydeus and Oeneus, of Neleus, the father of Nestor, of Peleus and of his old friend Phoenix, foster-father of Achilles. It also occurs in the third book of the Odyssey and like ἱππότα with the name of Nestor. The word ἱππόδαμος in the singular is a little more widely distributed than either ἱππότα or ἱππηλάτα and is used about the active generation, whereas the other two describe the very old heroes,

[1] Allen, *Homeric Catalogue*, p. 87.

such as Nestor, Phoenix, and Peleus, or the dead father or grandfather, Neleus, Tydeus, Oeneus, Phyleus. Several times it is an epithet of the hero Diomede and once of his father Tydeus, in an exhortation addressed to Diomede; twice in the second book, but in a repetition of the same line, it appears as an epithet of Atreus, in an address to Agamemnon similar to the exhortation to Diomede in the fourth book. It occurs in the fourteenth book with the name of Nestor's son Thrasymedes and with that of Kastor in the third book. Otherwise it is an epithet of Trojans: of the old councillor Antenor and of Hector, Hippasos, and Hyperenor of the active generation. The adjective πλήξιππος, occurring four times, is applied to Pelops, to Mnestheus the Athenian, to an Orestes killed by Hector, and to an Oileus, killed by Agamemnon. This word would be an equivalent for Κένταυρος if, as I suggest, that word has for its final member the Thracian stem aulo—avro—given by Tomaschek as the Thracian for ἵππος, horse. In the list of water-nymphs given by Hesiod in Theogony 349 ff. there occur several names which are connected in some way with the horse—Hippo, Zeuxo, Admete (used of unbroken horses). To these I would add Plexaure, which would thus be a feminine of Plexippos, and Galaxaure, a probable enough name for a mare among a tribe of Mare-Milkers, like the Thracians.

The word ἱππεῦ in the singular occurs only with reference to Patroklos, in the pathetic line:

Τὸν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφης, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ.[1]

In the plural it comes most frequently in the talk of Nestor and with reference to his troops. When the word ἱπποσύνη is used, superiority is given to Hector, to his brother Kebriones, to Pylian Antilochos, the son of Nestor, and to Eumelos of Thessaly, son of Admetos.

[1] *Il.* 16, 20; *cf.* also 812 and 843.

It appears then from this investigation that the prestige of knowledge of the horse and its management among the Greeks in Homer rests with Thessalian Achilles and his family, the family of Thracian-Aetolian Diomede, who was an immigrant to Argos, and to Pylian Nestor, son of Neleus, of the royal Minyan line. Dulichium and Elis were breeding places for horses and the epithet ἱππόβοτος is employed to describe Argos as well as Trikka and Elis. The passage in the Odyssey in which Elis is called horse-nourishing[1] is interesting because of the contrasting of rocky Ithaka, which is not a land for horses, with the horse-land Elis.

οὔθ' ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,
οὔθ' ὅσσοι νήσοισι πρὸς Ἤλιδος ἱπποβότοιο.

Homer is so consistent in his tradition and knowledge of the diffusion of the horse among the Greek and Trojan tribes that I think that Drerup must be mistaken when he says that ἱππόβοτος may have been used by the poet as a synonym of wealth and luxury with no exact meaning: "Um so weniger werden wir daran" (i. e. from the word ἱππόβοτος), he says, "ein spezifisches Charakteristikum einer besonderen Landschaft entnehmen dürfen."[2]

The cult of the horse in the legends of the hero Diomede is well known and in the Iliad Diomede covets and takes the horses of the Trojans whom he conquers, notably those of Dardanian Aeneas and of Thracian Rhesus. The Trojans as a whole are ἱππόδαμοι and their names show this. Farnell[3] argues that the fact that Pylian Nestor of the royal Minyan house is so especially praised by Homer for his skill in driving indicates the worship of Poseidon Hippios, god of horses, or horse-god,[4] cherished and diffused by the Minyans. Tomaschek notes the Orchomenos on the west side of Olympus, once called

[1] *Od.* 21, 347; *cf.* also *Od.* 4, 605 ff.
[2] *Das Homerische Problem in der Gegenwart*, p. 295.
[3] *Cults*, IV. 24. [4] Nillson, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

Μινύα and Ἀλμωνία, and in speaking of the connections of the Paeonians with the Minyans of Orchomenos he says, "It is no mere chance that near the second Orchomenos, south of the Haliakmon, we find a Pelagonia Tripolitis." Drerup comments to the effect that the horse came from the north to Greece about the second fourth of the second millenium B. C. Kretschmer[1] thinks it probable that the Greeks got their word ἵππος from a Paeonian form ἴκκος.

It seems probable then that steppemen or Paeonians or Thracians had introduced horse-culture at Troy long before it came to southern Greece and if we may believe Homer, at least one war before the great Trojan war had been fought ἕνεχ' ἵππων.

The following lines from the "Trojan Women" of Euripides,[2] with their reference to contest with horses and bows among the "Phrygians," a name used in this passage for Trojan, indicate old worships of the two gods who built the walls of Troy—Poseidon Hippios and Apollo of the Shining Bow.

> ὦ τέκνον, οὐχ ἵπποισι νικήσαντά σε
> οὐδ' ἥλικας τόξοισιν, οὓς Φρύγες νόμους
> τιμῶσιν, οὐκ εἰς πλησμονὰς θηρώμενοι,

"My child, I shall never see thee a victor in those ancestral contests (νόμους) with horses and with bow that Phrygians (=Trojans) hold in honor, never sated of their sport."

The horsefairs with a religious background held near Zeleia and at other places in the Troad of which Hasluck speaks are very likely survivals of old νόμοι and festivals in which Poseidon Hippios was worshipped. I am indebted to Professor J. A. K. Thomson for suggesting this passage from the Troades and for the interpretation of its significance.

[1] *Einleitung*, 248. [2] *Trojan Women*, 1209 ff.

CHAPTER V

TROJAN NAMES IN THE ILIAD

My father's father, conqueror of Thrace,
Made desolate the Eordaean land;
Wasted the fertile Galadraean plain,
And fixed the limit of his empire
Where the sweet waters of Peneius flow.
Cassandra in Lycophron's *Alexandra.*

IN the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1916, Professor J. B. Bury writes as follows:—

"The Trojans were early immigrants from the Balkan peninsula. How comes it that their rulers have Greek names? The name of Priam himself is not indeed obviously Greek, but in the Aeolic form Perramos it may well be so; and Priam's father was Laomedon. Hector is Greek as Nestor and was in later time the name of a prince of Chios. Paris has the second name of Alexandros; and the natural assumption is that 'Paris' is a Phrygian name given him by his Phrygian mother Hecuba. The names of the other children of Priam who come into the story—Cassandra, Helenus, Deiphobus, etc.—are Greek. We have to choose between two inferences. Either the bards deliberately substituted Greek for foreign names, or the rulers of the Troad were Greek. The second alternative, startling as it may appear, seems to accord with other evidence and to afford the most satisfactory explanation of the date of the Iliad. If there had been a great or radical distinction between the Achaean and Trojan civilizations, it is difficult to see how these could have been completely ignored, or successfully concealed by poets who give such a faithful representation

of the topography and evidently were acquainted with the character and resources of the enemy . . . Is there any good reason to resist the simplest and most logical conclusion that the Greeks had conquered the Troes and settled in the Troad and that Mycenaean Troy was a Greek outpost?" Further Professor Bury writes: "The Achaeans had reduced the great Greek states of the peninsula; in attacking Troy they go on to reduce a great Greek state which had established itself in Asia Minor. Can we conjecture whence the Greek founders of Troy came? Was it possibly from Attica?" Professor Bury refers to the appearance of the Attic Erichthonios-Poseidon in the Trojan genealogy and the legend that Poseidon helped to build the walls of Troy as possible support for his theory.

Strabo[1] quotes those whom he calls οἱ νεώτεροι. who reason in the same way about the connection of Attika and the Trojans.

I have already given some reasons for considering Poseidon Hippios and his double, Erichthonios, as deities connected with the early history of Troy who reflect a worship of Poseidon, god of stream and river, and god of horses, derived from northern river-worship and horse-culture. Erichthonios, another form of Poseidon Γαιήοχος, was worshipped in Troy by the horse-breeding tribes of that city before his worship came, with the gift of the horse, to the Acropolis of Athens. Further the Greek names of which Professor Bury speaks are links with the northern area of Greece and especially with Macedon rather than with Athens. The fact that Priam's son Paris has, besides his perhaps Thracian name, the Greek name Alexandros and that Priam's daughter Kas-

[1] Strabo, 604.

(τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐπιπλοκῆς τῶν Τρώων τιθέασι σημεῖον, καὶ τὸ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις Ἐριχθόνιόν τινα γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν).

sandra has a name that is the feminine of Kassandros, a well-known Macedonian name, has interested several scholars. Hoffmann[1] shows in his study of the Macedonians that Wilamowitz has been unfortunate in his choice of names employed to illustrate his theory that the royal house of Macedon in its eagerness for Greek culture adopted Greek heroic names in order to make a link with the past and the early Greek tradition. It is rightly pointed out by Hoffmann that the Macedonians would not have given their heirs the names of Alexander and Cassander in memory of the effeminate and unfortunate Paris and the unhappy prophetess of woe, Kassandra. He notes that it is precisely the names of the great (Greek) heroes of Homer that are rare in the Macedonian families and says that this should give us pause. "If other decisive evidence testifies that the Macedonians were Greeks, why should not the names common among them which also appear in Greek heroic legend have been true and autochthonous Macedonian names?"

The compounds Alexandros, Kassandra, Lysandros, Alkandros, Isandros, names of Trojans or Lykians in the Iliad, are by-forms of Alexanor, Kassanor, Peisanor, Alkanor, etc. Such names, as Fick-Bechtel[2] and Hoffmann have shown, are characteristic of Macedon and north Greece. Besides the names of heroes which end in –andros, all of which in the Iliad belong to Trojans, there are the geographical names Antandros (not in Homer), Skamandros, Maeandros. Of the names ending in -ηνωρ which occur in the Iliad, seven belong to Trojans, namely Agenor, Antenor, Bienor, Deisenor, Hyperenor, Hypsenor, Peisenor. Of these the name Hypsenor occurs with the patronymic Hippasides in the list of Greeks in the eleventh book, which contains names which elsewhere appear as Trojan. Hippasos noticeably is Trojan, be-

[1] *Die Makedonen*, pp. 119–20. [2] *Personennamen*, pp. 58, 60.

longing to the father of Charops and Sokos. Hippasides also is Paeonian. Besides the seven Trojan names in -ηνωρ,[1] there are four others in the Iliad, Agapenor, Elephenor, Prothoenor, and Euchenor. Agapenor and Elephenor belong to chiefs of tribes which have the northern epithet of close-fighting. The Arcadians about the tomb of Aipytos, of whom Agapenor is chief, have already been discussed in connection with that epithet and their northern connections noted. Elephenor belongs to the royal family of the tribe Abantes, μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῇσι μελίῃσι who are ἀγχέμαχοι in Strabo and Plutarch, and are said by Aristotle, quoted by Strabo, to have been a Thracian tribe residing in Phocis before coming to Euboea. Their peculiar fashion of dressing their hair is mentioned in the Catalogue in a way that recalls the Thracian and the Achaean mode. These two representatives of "closefighting" tribes have names of the type of Antenor and Agenor of the closefighting Dardanians. We evidently have to do with persistent racial characteristics prevailing among immigrants and stamping tribes of which Homer gives an essential character in his epithets and brief compact phrases of description.

There remains Prothoenor, who is a leader of the Boeotians, together with Arkesilaos, two names of markedly Macedonian type. This type of name became widely spread in later times, but remained especially among the ruling houses of Macedon and Epirus. The element -ηνωρ appears also in the northern month Leschenorios. It may be inferred that names of this type were hereditary in the chieftain families of those armed adventurers who in the third and second millennia B.C. were swarming down from the Danube to the lower Balkan peninsula.

There is a patronymic of this type, Alegenorides, among the Boeotians in the Iliad, attached to the name

[1] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, list of Macedonian names, pp. 278 ff.

Promachus. There remains but one Greek, Euchenor, dwelling in Corinth, mentioned in Iliad 13, 663. He is the son of Polyidos the seer, about whom Sophocles wrote a play called Μάντεις ἢ Πολύϊδος, and is of the stock of Melampus, who according to the form of the legend preserved in Pindar and Diodorus came from Thessaly.

Another group of names in the Iliad which is almost exclusively Trojan consists of those ending in -damas. They are Adamas, Amphidamas, Eurydamas, Chersidamas, Hippodamas, Laodamas, Poulydamas. There is but one exception to their prevailingly Trojan affiliation and that is Amphidamas, which in the tenth book is the name of a Cytherean and in the twenty-third belongs to a north Greek from Opus, father of the boy slain by Patroklos. The most notable of those ending in -damas is that of the great Dardanian seer Poulydamas; there is also Eurydamas, the Dreamer, father of Abas and Polyidos, and there is Iphidamas, son of Theano, priestess and wife of Antenor.

The names of this type such as Poulydamas (which in the form Polydamas in historical times belonged to Thessalian tyrants of Pherae), Eurydamas, etc., were doubtless originally like Alexandros, Amynandros, Amyntas, Aleuas, the names for a deity and then bestowed on priestly and royal personages.

Sayce, in a recent volume of the *Classical Review*,[1] compares the word Laos seen in composition in the names Laomedon, Laokoon and other Trojan names with Lavos, Lydian *lefs*, meaning God, and suggests what I had already proposed[2] that the word καύεις for priestess, found in Greek inscriptions in Lydia,[3] is the same in origin as the second member of Laokoon. The second

[1] *C.R.*, 1922, p. 19. [2] *J. H. S.*, 1919, p. 66.
[3] Buckler and Robinson, Greek Inscriptions from Sardes, *A. J. A.*, 1913, pp. 362–368.

member appears as a single name in Iliad 11, 249 and 256 and Iliad 19, 53, for Koon the son of Antenor and Theano, the priestess, who is killed defending his brother Iphidamas, who had been brought up in the home of his Thracian grandmother. Demokoon is a bastard son of Priam, who comes from Abydos; his swift horses are mentioned. Hippokoon is a councillor of the Trojans in Iliad 10, 518 and a noble nephew of Rhesos. Deikoon in Iliad 5, 518 is the companion of Aeneas and is called son of Pergasos, a Thracian-sounding name. He is said to have been honored by the Trojans as much as the sons of Priam because he was swift to fight among the foremost. The priest Laokoon, of whose name I have just spoken, is not mentioned by Homer. He is the most famous of the Trojans who have names of this type and by later writers is called a brother of Antenor or of Anchises.

Usener regards these names as derived from a verb κοεῖν, to hear, and translates Hippokoon *der Rosse wartend.* I think this unlikely and am glad to find the suggestion of Sayce, which, doubtless independent of mine, though made some years afterward, corroborates my interpretation. The word καύεις with which I connect the ending -koon is found in a fragment of Hipponax.[1]

Two glosses of Hesychius may bring these words[2] into relation with the god Koas. Εὐρυκόας is defined as Εὐρύνομος and under the word Εὐρυκόωσα is found τὸ κόον—μέγα (among the Lacedaemonians). The words are doubtless all of priestly or divine origin as are those in which Lao- forms the first member. These are Laodamas, son of Antenor, Laokoon (not in Homer), Laodike, most beautiful of the daughters of Priam and married to Helikaon, son of Antenor, mentioned in Iliad 3, 124; one of Agamemnon's daughters in Iliad 9, 145, 287;

[1] Buckler and Robinson, *loc. cit.* [2] See Arkwright, *A. J. A.*, 1913, p. 366.

Laodokos, son of Antenor in Iliad 4, 87, comrade of Antilochos in Iliad 17, 699; Laogonos, Iliad 16, 604, 20, 480, son of the Trojan priest of Idaean Zeus in the sixteenth book and son of Bias in the twentieth. Laothoe is a Lelegian princess who bore Lykaon and Polydorus to Priam, Iliad 21, 35 and 22, 48. Laodike, Priam's daughter, twice mentioned for her beauty, bears a name famous in the Macedonian family that ruled in Syria, the house of Seleukos. Laodameia is the Lykian mother of Sarpedon in Iliad 6, 198; in the Catalogue she is the Thessalian heroine.

The frequency of the tribal names in –ops among the north Greek clans is noted by Eduard Meyer, Fick, and Hoffmann.[1] Hoffmann quotes Ellopes, Dryopes, the town in Macedon called Douripos, and connects with this group the name of Macedonian Aeropos, the grandfather of Amyntas. Of this type in the Iliad are the Trojan names Dolops, son of Lampos, son of Laomedon,[2] Dryops,[3] Charops, son of Hippasos,[4] Merops,[5] Enops.[6] Phaenops. The latter name is used[7] of two or more individuals, always Trojan. Dolopion is priest of Scamander in Iliad 5, 77, and father of Eurydamas; Apollo takes the shape of Phaenops, son of Asios, in Iliad 17, 588 and of Asios, son of Dymas in 16, 718.

Among the single names that take us to Macedon is that of Argeades Polymelos, a Trojan or most probably a Lykian, slain by Patroklos.[8] His patronymic is the one by which the members of the family of the Macedonian kings designated themselves; and here again, as with the names Alexander and Cassander this name of an obscure fighter mentioned among a list of Trojans or Lykians slain would not have been chosen from the Greek epic by an ambitious Macedonian royalty, but must have been native to Macedon.

[1] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 131. [2] *Il.* 15, 525, 555. [3] *Il.* 20, 455. [4] *Il.* 13, 426.
[5] *Il.* 2, 831. For Merops as title of Sun God see Paton and Hicks, *Cos*, p. 361 f.
[6] *Il.* 14, 445; 16, 401. [7] *Il.* 5, 152; 17, 312, 583. [8] *Il.* 16, 416.

Hoffmann speaks of the ending –tor as especially characteristic of Macedonian names, noting Amyntor as a true Macedonian formation. Hector is of course of this formation and Alastor and Damastor, the former of which names denotes a Trojan in Iliad 5, 677 and is used in patronymic form for Tros in Iliad 20, 468, though used elsewhere for a Greek in a line which tells of the two companions who bear, in one passage Teukros, and in the second Antilochos, to the ships when those heroes are wounded.

Μηκιστεὺς Ἐχίοιο πάϊς καὶ δῖος Ἀλάστωρ,
νῆας ἔπι γλαφυρὰς φερέτην βαρέα στενάχοντα.[1]

Damastor is used in patronymic form for a Lykian (Tlepolemos) in the list given in Iliad 16, 416 ff. Alastor is son of Neleus according to Apollodorus.[2] Mastor is the father of Lykophron from Cythera, the squire of Ajax in Iliad 15, 430 and Mestor is son of Priam in Iliad 24, 257.

These derivatives in –tor are called *hypocoristica* or short forms by Fick-Bechtel, who refer Onetor, the name of a Trojan priest of Idaean Zeus in Iliad 16, 604, to Onesandros as full form.[3] It is difficult to decide whether such a form as Amyntor, a name markedly of the north Greek and Macedonian type, is better regarded as a direct formation from the verb with the ending –tor, so usual in Greek and in Latin, or, after the manner indicated by Fick-Bechtel, as a short form for Amynandros, also a characteristically North Greek name. An interesting problem is presented by the name of Hector. The meaning of it is usually referred to the line of Sarpedon's taunt:—[4]

φῆς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἐξέμεν ἠδ' ἐπικούρων.

The point of this derivation would be, according to the suggested interpretation for it, that Hector is equivalent

[1] *Il.* 8, 353; 13, 422; *cf. Il.* 4, 295. [2] 1, 9, 8.
[3] Fick-Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 32. [4] *Il.* 5, 472.

to Echepolis, the aspirate which is found in Hector appearing, as in the verb ἔχω, with the disappearance of the aspirated root consonant, as in ἕξω, ἕξις, ἐκτικός, etc. Names from πόλις are rare in Homer, though Priam has a son Polites, a name which Fick-Bechtel regard as short for Poliouchos, which would have the same meaning as Echepolis, the name which might be inferred from the verse just cited for the form from which Hector is shortened.

I have another derivation to suggest which gets as much support from the word-play of Sarpedon's line, if word-play exists in it, as Echepolis, dependent on the words πόλιν ἐξέμεν. In view of the prevailingly chthonian character of Trojan names which is noted by Gruppe and others, I believe that the phrase of the line ἄτερ λαῶν may be the point suggesting the full name of Hector and I propound that that full name was Echelaos. This is a name for the god of the lower world, which came to light in 1893 on a beautiful and large votive tablet discovered in Athens.[1] The relief represents the carrying away of Basile by Echelos in a chariot before which is the god Hermes acting as leader. Echelos, a short form of Echelaos, was recognized as Hades by Robert,[2] E. Meyer and others, soon after the discovery of the relief, although the first[3] to discuss it maintained the absurd old derivation of the *Etymologicum Magnum* of Echelas and Ἐχελῖδαι, from the swampy character, ἕλος, of the district of the Echelidae, where the relief was discovered. This derivation, as E. Meyer remarks, is topographically right, but etymologically and historically perverse. Basile is found in company with Zeuxippos on a relief in Trieste which represents a feast for the dead, and is dedicated to the pair of deities. The name Basile also

[1] *Athen. Mitt.* XVIII, 1893, 212 f. *Eph. Arch.*, 1893, 109, 129, plates 9–10.
[2] *Hermes*, 1895, 30, 285 f. [3] So Crosby, *A. J. A.*, 1894, 9, p. 204.

appears with that of Neleus in an inscription witnessing to their common *temenos*, found on the bank of the Ilissos and dating from the year 418 B. C. Meyer says that we have here an old cult of the Unseen Gods and the name Basile for Persephone and Echelaos, Neleus, and Zeuxippos for Hades are titles or epithets for the rulers of the under world. Echelaos as the "long name" for Hector would be in line with the name of Hector's grandfather Laomedon, regarded by Gruppe and Malten as primarily referring to a Ruler of the Folk of the Dead. In Sarpedon's speech ἄτερ λαῶν of course refers to the soldiery, but Homer gives in his own comment no suggestion of the religious value which lay behind the names of the heroes of his epic, which he did not invent, but inherited from an older body of traditional songs.

Another Trojan name in –tor is that of Epistor, slain by Patroklos in Iliad 16, 695. Alastor is the name of an avenging spirit of the dead and is appropriately found in the genealogies of the Trojan line and in that of the Minyan Neleus,[1] whose name is that of the chthonic deity worshipped in Athens in the temenos with Basile,[2] the Queen of the Dead. The famous name Kastor may, if we follow Fick and Bechtel in holding the ending –tor to be a shortening one, be a short form of Kassandros. Both are probably derived from the verb καίνυμι, κέκασμαι, = "be preeminent" and so have the force of "Leader of Men."

The names with –laos for the final member vary between Greek and Trojan. Menelaos is Greek, Agelaos is a Trojan, son of Phradmon in Iliad 8, 25, and Greek in the list of slain in Iliad 11, 303, in which others appear who are elsewhere Trojan, i. e. Opheltes, Dolops, and Autonoos, son of Klytios, who is always Trojan in the Iliad. Arkesilaos, with two others with names of the

[1] Apollodorus, 1. 9. 8. [2] For Neleus and Basile, *C.I.A.* IV, 253a.

northern type, Klonios (so noted by Hoffmann) and Prothoenor, leads the Boeotians in the Catalogue. Prothoenor is son of Areilukos, a name that points to Thrace.

The name of Laomedon and other compounds of laos, such as Echelaos and Agesilaos, are discussed by Ludwig Malten in his article on the horse and the dead.[1] He notes the connection between Poseidon, lord of fresh waters and chthonian god, dwelling in the earth γαιήοχος and fertilizing it, φυτάλμιος, with his streams, and the Ruler of the Underworld, whom we call by his universal name, that of Hades. Malten adduces the old genealogies in which the names of Poseidon and Hades appear in alternate generations, for instance in those of the house of Pylian Neleus, of Orchomenos, and of Kyrene. He regards the names Laodokos and Laomedon as titles of Hades. Laomedon and Laodokos, then, mean "The Ruler of the Folk of the Dead" and "He who receives the Folk of the Dead." The service of Apollo and Poseidon sent παρὰ Διός to labor for Laomedon and the like enforced service of Apollo with the herds of Admetus, are in Malten's argument, evidence for the identification of both Laomedon and Admetus with Hades. He holds that the story of Laomedon and his steeds has a firmer root in the Iliad than Erichthonios, whom he regards as a form of Poseidon, because of his marvellous horses.

This theory, with much of which I am in accord, will be discussed in the chapter on Apollo and Poseidon.

Of the tribal and geographical names that connect Troy[2] with Thrace, Paeonia and north Greece there may be cited Ainios from Aenos in Thrace, Paeonides, the patronymic of Agastrophos in Iliad 11, 339, Dardanos, brother of Laogonos and son of Bias in Iliad 20, 460, Abas, son of Eurydamas, Dios, son of Priam and the names in

[1] Malten, *Das Pferd im Totenglauben*, *Jahrbuch*, 1914, 179 ff.

[2] Drerup, *op. cit.*, 367.

–ops already mentioned, such as Dolops and Dryops. These and others that could be cited probably point to trade relations between the tribes established at Troy and those in central and north Greece and the Balkans, or to some original connection of race. Dr. Leaf[1] discusses the similarity of the name of Ileus, the legendary father of Aias and that of Ilos in the Trojan genealogy, and the name of the town of Ilios itself. He says: "The resemblance may be fortuitous, and does not seem to have struck the early mythographers as needing explanation; but it may carry with it some real significance when taken in connection with the other evidences of early colonization. It has been made the foundation of many theories, mostly, in my opinion, baseless. But one at least deserves consideration—that Ilios was the name given to the town by its earliest Locrian settlers in honour of their legendary hero-ancestor. The other name, Troia, means of course, no more than 'City of the Troes,' and is obviously of Greek origin. It may be guessed that the Trojans themselves knew it by no other title than Pergamon, the Burgh of their land." Dr. Leaf writes this in connection with the question of the Locrian Maidens and the possible Locrian settlement at Troy in stratum VII. 2. He thinks that a name given at so early a date as that of the Greek settlement which Dörpfeld suggests may have been made as early as 800 B. C., or perhaps a century or two earlier, might have found its way into the Epic vocabulary, and even, in the form Ilos, into the Trojan genealogy. The tomb of Ilos is mentioned in several places in the Iliad as a σῆμα or τύμβος with a στήλη. It stood according to Dr. Leaf close to, perhaps on, "the spring of the plain." The Trojans in Iliad 10, 42 encamped on the "spring of the plain" are "debating beside the tomb of Ilos and in Iliad 11, 166 the battle is at once

[1] Leaf, *Troy*, 141 ff.

in the plain (i. e. half way between ships and town) and beside the tomb of Ilos."[1]

Ilos is son of Tros in the genealogy in the twentieth book, and it may be that the name of Ilos comes from some immigration from northern Greece in centuries much earlier than those suggested by Dr. Leaf. Like the tomb of Batieia, which is associated with the Dardanians, it is a landmark for the Trojans that is connected with some historical event, which is now dark to us.

The investigations of Forsdyke[2] and Childe[3] with regard to the distribution of the so-called Minyan ware have shown a "more or less unitary culture through the north Aegaean including the Troad", revealed by the pottery. Mr. Childe says, "As we go north, the connection with the Troad becomes more strongly marked until at the northern limit of Cycladic culture, in the Mycenaean tombs near Chalkis in Euboeia, Trojan and Cycladic forms are about equally balanced."[4] Mr. T. W. Allen[5] discusses the question what the Cyclades to the north were doing during the Trojan war. "If then, some islands assisted Agamemnon and some (and these to the north) did not, and those did that had been colonized, we conclude that the reason the others took no part was that they were still un-Mycenaean." Though the Abantes of Euboea took part in the war against Troy, it is not strange to find a Trojan Abas, whose name is an ethnic title of the tribe on Euboea, which was Thracian in origin and lived within the sphere of influence of Troy.

The names which have the value of an apotropaic epithet like ἀλεξίκακος, such as Alexandros, Amynandros, Amyntor, Alexamenos, and Aleuas, which are found in royal families in Troy, Macedon, Epirus and

[1] Leaf, *op. cit.*, p. 42. [2] Forsdyke, *J.H.S.*, 1915, pp. 125–156.
[3] Childe, *ibid.*, 1915, pp. 196–207. [4] Childe, *J.H.S.*, 1916, p. 205.
[5] Allen, *Homeric Catalogue*, p. 105.

Thessaly, will be discussed in the chapter on Royal Names. The strong religious meaning of these names made them favorites of kings in the feudal states in which the kings "were manteis and possessed the other functions of that office, no less than the power of cleansing blood."[1]

[1] Halliday, *Greek Divination*, p. 68.

CHAPTER VI

PAEONIA

"Around Pangaeon and the Paion's land."

THE Paeonians are mentioned in the Catalogue and in the tenth book of the Iliad with the epithet ἀγκυλότοξοι, "with curved bows." Their territory is defined by their city Amydon, and by their river, which is called wide-flowing, and its lovely waters are praised in the line

οὔ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν.

Their leader is Pyraechmes. In the tenth book Odysseus asks Dolon how the allies "mingled with the horse-taming Trojans" sleep, and receives the answer that near the sea are the Carians and the Paeonians of curving bows, and Leleges and Kaukones and noble Pelasgians; toward Thymbra the Lykians and proud Mysians, the Phrygians who fight from horses (probably chariots) and the Maeones, owners of horses. The young prince, Asteropaios, first appears in the twelfth book as one of the leaders of the allies, chosen by Sarpedon, who selected Asteropaios and Glaukos, because they appeared the best, next to himself.

The chief Pyraechmes is the first victim of the spear of Patroklos clad in the armor of Achilles.[1] The names of the city Amydon and of the wide-flowing Axios are not repeated. The epithet of the Paeonians is ἱπποκορυσταί, which in the tenth book was given to the Maeonians. Pyraechmes, when struck by the flying spear of Patroklos,

[1] *Il.* 16, 285 ff.

fell backward on the dusty plain, groaning, and his clansmen from Paeonia fled from his side, filled with terror of Patroklos, who had slain their chief, their best champion.

The presence of the Paeonians on the field of battle is next indicated in the seventeenth book, in the passage in which Hector addresses the "myriad tribes of the allies who dwell about the city" and speaks of the gifts and rations which he must get from his exhausted people to keep up the spirit of the allies who defend the wives and little children of the Trojans. In the list of chiefs of the allies[1] the name of Asteropaios appears. Later[2] the son of Hippasos, Apisaon, a chieftain (ποιμένα λαῶν) who was the best champion of the Paeonians next to Asteropaios, was struck by the javelin of Lykomedes; Asteropaios filled with pity for his fallen comrade, starts in fury to give battle to the Greeks, but is kept back by the fence of shields which the Greeks hold around the body of Patroklos. In Iliad 17, 350 the name of the country, Paeonia, first occurs and with its epithet:—

ὅς ῥ' ἐκ Παιονίης ἐριβώλακος εἰληλούθει.

It is not until the twenty-first book that the Paeonian champion plays a part comparable to that of Lykian Sarpedon or that of Dardanian Aeneas in the fifth book. There are reminiscences of the fifth book in the details of the fighting. After Achilles has enraged the River by his taunt to Lykaon that the sacrifice of bulls and living horses plunged within the silver waters of the Scamander will not avail to save him, the Greek hero leaps upon the descendant of another River, the son of Pelegon, Asteropaios. The prince is grandson of the River Axios and great-grandson of the hero Akessamenos, the Healer. The Paeonian, with the River Scamander at his back,

[1] *Il.* 17, 217–218. [2] *Il.* 17, 348 ff.

meets Achilles, and the River-God, angered because of the merciless slaughter of the Trojans, puts courage in his heart. Achilles asks the prince who he is and whence he comes, "for desolate are the parents whose sons withstand my sword!" The Paeonian replies, "Peleides, high of heart, why ask my birth? I am from Paeonia, fertile land, and far-away. My men are long-speared Paeonians. Ten dawns ago I came to Troy. My race springs from the Axios, wide-flowing, whose loveliest of waters overflows our land. His son was Pelegon, mighty with the spear, and son of Pelegon men say I am. Now fight with me, renowned Achilles." He then with two spears, skilled with right hand and with left, struck at Achilles and drew blood from his right wrist. Achilles missed his aim and his famed ashen spear flew past the prince and stuck fast in the river-bank. While Asteropaios was striving to wrench it from the ground, Achilles killed him with his sword and leaping on his body stripped off his beautiful armor, exulting over the River-born in a speech in line after line of which contempt is expressed for Rivers and their prestige and power, compared with that of Zeus. He leaves the child of the River Axios lying on the bank of the Trojan river for eels and fishes to swarm over and devour, and goes in chase of the clansmen, Paeonians, "equipped with the horse" (ἱπποχορυσταί). The lines which tell of the slaying of the Paeonian chiefs are directly modelled on the lines of the fifth book (or *vice versa*) in which the slaying of Lykians by Odysseus is recounted, lines 5, 677–680, *mutatis mutandis*, equalling 21, 209–212. In the fifth book it is Hector who intervenes; in the twenty-first it is appropriately enough the deep-flowing River, who speaks in human form from the depths of his waters and warns Achilles to desist.

This is the prelude to the tremendous fight between Achilles and the Scamander. The last mention of the

young Paeonian chieftain in the Iliad comes when the prizes are given in the twenty-third book, when the bronze breastplate with the casting of bright tin about it and the beautiful Thracian sword with silver studding, taken from the slain Asteropaios, are offered by Achilles.[1]

The setting of the contest between the prince of the Paeonians and Achilles on the bank of the river and the friendship of the River for the descendant of the River Axios, the contemptuous repetition of the word river in Achilles' speech,[2] and the presence of all the rivers in the council in heaven at the beginning of the twentieth book, accentuate the strife between worshippers of Zeus and the tribes of river-worshippers. The Paeonians in historical times baptized their kings in rivers, as a sign of their royalty. Polyaenus gives the following account of the reception among them of their boy prince, Ariston: "Lysimachus took measures to restore Ariston, son of Autoleon, to Paeonia, in order that the Paeonians, recognizing their heir-apparent, might receive Lysimachus himself in a friendly spirit. But when they proceeded to give Ariston the royal baptism in the river Astibos and set the royal table before him according to the tradition of their tribe, Lysimachus sounded the call to arms. Ariston fled into Dardania and Lysimachus got possession of Paeonia.[3]"

The lustral bath was also a part of the worship of the Thracian goddess Kotys, as attested by the *Baptae* of the comic poet, Eupolis. It is not known what the relation was between this rite and the one referred to by Achilles of sinking living horses in the Trojan river on the one hand and on the other that described by Polybius in a fragment from the twenty-third book, preserved by Suidas. The Macedonians had a spring month Xandikos

[1] *Il.* 23, 560, 808. [2] *Il.* 21, 185, 186, 190, 191, 192, 193.
[3] Polyaenus, *Strat.* IV, 12.

and Suidas has under ἐναγίζουσι[1] the gloss: Τῷ δὲ Ξάνθῳ[2] ἐναγίζουσι οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ καθαρμὸν ποιοῦσι σὺν ἵπποις ὡπλισμένοις. "The Macedonians offer sacrifices of aversion of evil to (the?) Xanthus and make a purification with armed horses."

It is usual to bring these references to bear upon the lustration of the Macedonian army described by Livy,[3] where the rite is a sham fight between different divisions of the army and the marching out between the severed parts of the head of a dog. The same rite is attested for Boeotia by Plutarch.[4] In the passage in Livy, however, nothing is said of horses and in connection with the Polybius fragment one naturally thinks of the sinking of the horse adorned with a bridle into Dine at Genethlion in Argolis[5], a spring of fresh water rising out of the sea. The force of the preposition σύν in the phrase of Polybius is not clear. If it is instrumental—a possible, though not common value of the word—the rite must have been in accord with the Trojan and Argive sacrifices, or at least with that reported by Florus in *Bellum Moesicum*, offered by the Moesi:—*illi* (*Moesi*) *statim ante aciem immolato equo concipere votum ut caesorum ducum extis et litarent et vescarentur.*

Dr. Leaf says of the praise of the Axios in Homer: "It was at the mouth of the Axios that the legend of Pieria grew up; and closely connected with it must have been the worship of the River-God who brought them (i. e. the Achaeans) through the mountains of the north and settled them in their new home. When the Achaeans had taken the next great step and exchanged Pieria for Hellas, the memory of this older time had been dimmed, and Homer has nothing to tell us about it; but we may in his

[1] Polyb., XXIV, 8 c. Cf. Tarn, *loc. cit.*, on Macedonian water-worships.

[2] *Cf.* Usener, *Kl. Schriften* IV, 252 ff. for the gods Xanthos and Melanthos—the Summer and Winter Gods.

[3] Livy, 40, 6. [4] *Mor.*, 276A. [5] Paus. 8, 7, 2.

passing praise of the Axios see at least a dim reflection of that already prehistoric stage, if not an actual quotation from a yet more recent song."

It cannot be doubted that the Achaeans and Hellenes in Greece developed from the earlier worship of sun, moon, sky and river the anthropomorphic religion which we see in Homer, in whose poems the gods on Olympus are great kings and queens, with all the weaknesses and follies of mortal rulers. The Hellenes never ceased their worship of winds and sun and moon and streams, but this worship was in the background as the Olympians developed in strength and power. The moon is never mentioned in Homer as an object of worship, though Helios is a god in Iliad and Odyssey as well as the source of light in the heaven. The Thracian and Balkan tribes, on the other hand, remained in a more elemental stage and worshipped their gods, the Sun and Moon and Streams, in a more primitive and less consciously poetic spirit than the Greeks, in whose vivid imaginations the sun-worship produced many bright figures of myth and legend, while their river-worship grew into that of the trident-bearing Poseidon, who makes the river by the blow of his weapon. While the Greek Apollo, Artemis, and Poseidon were growing into forms of beauty and, to some degree, forms of goodness, the Paeonians were holding up to the sun disks of shining metal affixed to long poles, and the Thracian Getae were shooting arrows at the sun, when thunder and lightning came, and tossing messengers to "Salmoxis" (a sun-priest or daimon, who never achieved a beautiful form as did Orpheus) on spears uplifted to the sky. The lustrations in the river in the rites of the goddess Kotys are considered by some scholars to have been rain-magic. Whether or not the actual Achilles was advanced enough to ridicule the older, more naive worships, the poet who made the lines that Achilles

uttered is aware of the distinction between the river-worshipping tribes and the Greeks with their anthropomorphic religion.

Preller-Robert speak of the sanctity of rivers in Asia Minor: in Mysia as attested by the ὀργεῶνες of the Caicus mentioned by Aeschylus—[1]

> ἰὼ Κάικε Μύσιαί τ' ἐπιρροαί
> ποταμοῦ Καΐκου χαῖρε πρῶτος ὀργεών,
> εὐχαῖς δὲ σώζοις δεσπότας παιωνίαις,

and by the priesthood of the Xanthus in Lykia and that of the Scamander in the Troad and the Caicus in Mysia. After noting the great rarity of such institutions in Greece proper, the writer says that a characteristic of the religion of Asia Minor was the devotion to Nature in the worship of mountains, forests, trees, rivers, and springs. This belief in the divine quality of the elements and forms of the world of nature the Trojans, Mysians, and Lykians had in common with their kinsfolk in Moesia, Paeonia and Thrace. Greek religion was the same essentially, but progressed further in the humanization and moralization of the forces of nature. Sabazius, the Thracian god of teeming nature, is essentially the same as Dionysos and Apollo, as the god of the warmth and protecting power of the sun, but the god is as his worshippers are, and there were no poets and artists in Thrace and Paeonia who had the skill to bring the figure of Sabazius into such beauty as that with which the Greeks little by little clothed the conception of deities of fertility, whose origin was as simple as that of Sabazius, in that they were at first projections of the fructifying powers of nature and man's dealing with those powers.

Item in Thracis eundem haberi Solem ac Liberum quem illi Sebadium nuncupantes magnifica religione

[1] *Mysians*, frg. 144.

celebrant eique deo in colle Zilmisso aedes dicata est specie rotunda, *cuius* medium interpatet tectum.[1]

The Rivers who come to Olympus at the beginning of the twentieth book and the nymphs, who dwell in the springs of rivers and the green meadows and fields watered by the Rivers, are strange guests in the pillared palace of Zeus on Olympus and their presence at the Council of War is a prelude to the contest of river-born champions. This is the first suggestion in Greek literature of the fact to which we have testimony in later writers that the Paeonians, who are avenged by the River Scamander in the "fight along the river," are worshippers of rivers in their northern home.

And they worshipped also the holy nymphs, the Muses, who got a name from the Pierian land and were daughters of the Paeonian Euippe.

The worship of the Muses and that of Apollo and of Poseidon arose for Greece in the land called by the Greeks Paeonia and Pieria.

> θυγατέρων ἱερὸν γένος, αἳ κατὰ γαῖαν
> ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι
> καὶ ποταμοῖς.

The Paeonians were connected with Troy according to the tale told in Herodotus by the two Paeonian brothers[2] who brought their tall and beautiful sister to Sardes to show king Dareios the good qualities of the Paeonian tribe. They said their Paeonia was established on the Strymon, not far from the Hellespont and that their ancestors were colonists of Trojan Teukrians. In a later book[3] Herodotus says that there was a great invasion of Europe by Teukrians and Mysians before the Trojan War, and that these subdued all Thrace and advanced to the Ionian Sea, pushing as far to the south as the Peneios river. Tomaschek does not accept this account

[1] Macrobius, I, 18. [2] Hdt., V, 12. [3] VI, 20.

of the origin of the Paeonians in Europe and speaks of them[1] as a tribe of conquerors who had forced their way into the most fertile valleys and got possession of the most important passes in the upper Axios and the land to west and east. He considers that they originally had possession of the upper Axios and western Illyria and were pushed to the south by the pressure of the incoming tribes from the north. Kretschmer,[2] also, does not bring the Paeonians from Asia and disputes the truth of Herodotus' story of the Paeonian migration from the Troad. He holds that the Paeonians had a share with other European tribes in the settlement of Troy and suggests that Παιών on the Thracian Chersonese may have been a halting-place on their journey. Modern scholarship is with Tomaschek and Kretschmer in rejecting the Asiatic origin of a tribe that shows such marked affinities with Illyria and the Danube valley. The name is constantly confused with that of Pannonia in later time and Kretschmer finds in this a suggestion that there was an original connection between the two peoples.[3]

There is no mention in the Iliad of a Paeonian element in Troy; Homer is seemingly unaware of the connection of the Dardanian tribe of the Troad with the neighbors and kinsfolk of the Paeonians, the Dardanians in Europe. No reason is given for the aid brought to Troy by Pyraechmes, Asteropaios, and Thersilochos from Paeonia and we may only guess that ties of blood and religion united to make Paeonia and Troy part of a political union. As Tomaschek says, Priam was at the head of a "Bund" or block of tribes, which were closely held together by intimate family and hieratic relations.[4] The importance of the part played by the Paeonian hero in the Iliad leads us to infer that he represents a tribe whose civilization was in advance of the other Danubian and Thracian peoples.

[1] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, I, 13 ff. [2] *Op. cit.*, 246 ff. [3] *Cf.* Zonaras, X, 27, p. 521.
[4] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13.

Herodotus tells picturesque stories about the Paeonians, particularly the tale to which I have just referred of the two Paeonian brothers who were ambitious to be tyrants of Paeonia under Dareios, who, to that end, on hearing that the king had arrived at Sardes, went to the city, taking with them a tall and lovely sister. They dressed the girl in a beautiful robe and sent her to draw water. She carried on her head a water-jar, led a horse by his bridle attached to her arm, and spun flax as she proceeded. The king noticed her as she walked along and sent his guards to watch her. She watered her horse, filled her water-jar, replaced it on her head and returned by the way she had come, turning her spindle in her hands, leading the horse by a cord attached to her arm. Her industry brought misfortune upon her people, for Dareios desired to have the tribe of this skillful and un-Asiatic maiden in his domain; the end was that her countrymen were transferred to Asia and her brothers brought ruin on their folk without gratifying their own hopes. The evicted tribes brought into Asia, according to Herodotus, were the Siropaieones, Paioploi and the peoples extending to Lake Doiran, where the Lake Dwellers were able to hold out against Megabazus. The description of the Lake Dwellers is very delightful. Their young men on marriage bring three poles from Mount Orbelos for each of the several wives whom they wed and fix the stakes in the lake beneath the flooring of their huts, which also have a door leading downward into the lake. Their babies are tied by a rope attached to their little feet, so that they may not tumble off into the lake. Their horses and cows have fish to eat and the fish leap into the basket which the lord and master of the hut lets down into the water.[1]

[1] For the Alpine race of these Lake Dwellers, see Myres, *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, pp. 14 and 78.

Another fine Paeonian tale is that of the siege of Perinthus, told at the beginning of the fifth book of Herodotus. The oracular god had told the Paeonians from the Strymon to march on Perinthus and to attack only if the Perinthians should challenge them using the name of Paeonians in their cry. The Paeonians satisfied themselves at first with a threefold duel, between man and man, horse and horse, dog and dog. In these events the Perinthians were victorious, and when in their joy they sang the paean, the Paeonians recognized that this was the meaning of the god's message to them, attacked and conquered, leaving few of the Perinthians alive.

Paeonia was of very large connotation at various times and included many districts and tribes. Emathia,[1] Pieria, Pelagonia, Eordaea, Orestis, Almopia, Mygdonia were all Paeonian. Paeonians had possession of both banks of the Axios and were settled on the Strymon and worked the gold mines of Pangaeum. They were found in Chalkidike and the tribe of Eordi were settled in Thessaly[2] on the river Amyrus near Lake Boebeis, and Paeonians are mentioned in Epirus as neighbors of the Selli and the Dolopians.[3] The Macedonians in Homer's time either had not reached their later habitation or were not of sufficient importance to be mentioned by the poet. In the story told by Herodotus[4] of the founding of the Macedonian kingdom, three brothers, Gauanes, Aeropos, and Perdikkas come from Illyria to upper Macedonia, and this is likely to be the truth of their origin, though Herodotus makes them fugitives to Illyria from Argos in Peloponnesus. The three brothers, in this folk-tale, take service for a fixed wage on the farm of the king of Lebaea, one tending the horses, one the cows, and the smallest of them, Perdikkas, looking after the lambs. These

[1] Livy, 40, 8; Plin. 4, 17. [2] Abel, *Mak.* p. 63 f.; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄμυρος.
[3] Eustath., *Il.* 16, 233. [4] Hdt., VIII, 136 ff.

were simple and frugal times, says Herodotus, and the queen baked the bread. She saw with disquiet that the loaf of the small Perdikkas always miraculously doubled in size. When the king was informed of this portent, he rightly believed that it boded something great and ordered the youths to depart. They refused to leave without their pay, on which demand the king, inspired of God to the mad speech, pointed to the opening in the roof where the sun shone in and said, "That (i. e. the sun) is the pay I give you and the pay that you have earned." The two older brothers stood dazed, but the little one, who had a dagger in his hand, said quickly, "We take, O king, what you bestow," and traced the circle of the sun upon the floor and thrice drew the sun into his bosom. The king did not understand, but after the young men had gone, some one interpreted the act of the boy to him. He sent horsemen to catch them, but a river (not named) to which the youths came let them cross, and then flowed high and kept their pursuers back, and because of this deed of the river which saved them (σωτῆρι) sacrifice is offered by the descendants of the youths. They first settled near Mount Bermion where the roses, famous for their many petals and their fragrance grew, and then subdued all Macedonia.

It is probable that the Macedonians as well as the Paeonians were of Illyrian origin and that the Argos from which the founders of the Macedonian dynasty came was the Argos in the Orestea, of which Appian speaks:[1] Ἄργος τὸ ἐν Ὀρεστείᾳ ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεάδαι Μακεδόνες. The use of sun-magic by Perdikkas in the tale of the loaf and the king, and the reverence paid to the river that saved the lives of the three ancestors of the Macedonians, are eminently Paeonian and Danubian *traits*. The name Orestes, which is found in the Macedonian nobility, is

[1] App., *Syr.* 63; Macan on *Hdt.* VIII, 137, 3.

reminiscent of their old home. The ending is "*echt-illyrisch.*"[1] Hoffmann believes that the Macedonians originated in northwest Thessaly on the slope of Pindus, and pushed their way along the upper course of the Haliakmon into Illyrian territory, and were thus connected with the tribes of Tymphaia, Orestis and Elimiotis. He is influenced in this by his desire to prove that the Macedonians were Greeks, whereas the fact would seem to be that the Macedonians, like the Paeonians, Dardanians, Mysians and other tribes to the north of Greece, were, as Kretschmer has well said, peoples who might have become as Hellenic as the Achaeans if they had turned southward, as the Achaeans did, and so had assimilated as the Achaeans did, the civilization of the Aegaeans.[2]

Thucydides[3] describes the manner in which the Macedonian kingdom devoured the other tribal kingdoms, uprooting and driving out from their habitations the Pierians, who were later found on the slopes of Pangaeum, east of the Strymon, the Bottiaians, the Paeonians dwelling along the Axios, the Edonians, the Eordaeans, who were almost utterly wiped out of existence by the Macedonians, and the Almopians. They also absorbed Anthemus, Krestonia and Bisaltia, and the resulting whole, Thucydides says, was called Macedonia. As the early history of the tribe is obscure, we do not know in what relation it stood to the tribes which it conquered, but there is every probability that the Macedonians, whether they came immediately from Pindus, or from the Orestian Argos, were an Illyrian tribe in origin and belonged, as did the other Danubian tribes, to the Thrako-Illyrian family. The Briges, who became Phrygians in Asia Minor, were, Herodotus tells us[4], a Macedonian tribe, or at least σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι. And Strabo bears testimony to the similar extent of the Paeonian power:

[1] Fick, *Hattid. und Danub.*, p. 32. [2] *Einleitung*, p. 288. [3] 2, 99. [4] VII, 73.

"In ancient time as now the Paeonians appear to have been in possession of a large part of Macedonia, so that they could lay siege to Perinthus, and all Krestonia and Mydonia and the territory of the Agriani was under their authority."

As Macedon waxed in greatness, the power of Paeonia waned. They were kindred tribes, possessed of the same culture and qualities, but there were determinants in the Macedonian character and physique that were destined to give them the physical mastery of the world, while the Paeonians remained a rude people of sportsmen and fighters, drinking their liquor out of the great gilded horns of the mighty bisons, which their hunters caught by driving them down hill-slopes covered with slippery hides, where the beasts were left to starve, until their spirit was broken by hunger.[1] The bronze head of such a bison was sent to Delphi by Dropion king of Paeonia in the third century B. C.

The conquerors and successors of the Paeonians, the kindred Macedonians, were also never truly at home in intellectual culture, though they achieved an amazing splendor of material things. They killed the flower of civilization which had come to such perfection in Athens in the century before Philip of Macedon and Alexander were born. In the same way the Achaeans, kinsfolk[2] of both the Paeonians and Macedonians, "remained through the great period of Greece a backward people who plainly had acquired but little of the ancient culture they did so much to kill."[3]

The Danubian race flowered in military genius and organization of power in the fourth century B. C. in Philip and Alexander, and in some of the Successors; in far earlier centuries it had reached a height of prestige and strength

[1] Paus., X, 13, 1.
[2] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 288; Leaf, *Troy*, 17; Peake, *Bronze Age*, 114.
[3] J.A.K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey*, p. 141.

in the Troad and on the hill of Hissarlik, the chief record of which was kept for posterity in the poetry of Homer.

The names of the two foremost Paeonians, Pyraechmes and Asteropaios, meaning respectively "Whose Spear is Fire" and "Gleam of the Lightning Bolt," suggest the nature worship of the northerners. Apisaon, as a Paeonian, is son of Hippasos, appropriately enough for a hero from the "land of steeds and glory;" the Trojan Apisaon is son of Phausios, evidently a title derived from "the deity Hyperionides, who gives light to mortals"—

Φαυσίμβροτος δαίμων Ὑπεριονίδας.[1]

[1] Pindar, *Ol.* 7, 39.

CHAPTER VII

PAEONIAN SUN-WORSHIP AND MEDICINE

Paeony is an Herb of the Sun.
—Nicholas Culpepper.

"Lo, the herb of healing, when once the herb is known,
Shines in shady woods bright as newspring flame."
—Phoebus with Admetus.

"But thou art a physician most timely and the god of healing maketh thy light burn brightly. A gentle hand must thou set to a festering wound."
Pindar.[1]

THE circle of the sun which the young Perdikkas traced upon the floor of the king's house was the emblem of sun-worship among the Paeonians. They worshipped the sun and the image of their god was a small disk affixed to a long pole, says Maximus of Tyre.[2]

This god was also the chief divinity of Thrace, according to Sophocles:[3]

Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Θρῃξὶ πρέσβιστον σέλας.[4]

Hecataeus, the traveller, in his *Europa* spoke of the Paeonians as notable for their decoctions and salves, according to Athenaeus.[5] But more famous was the god of their tribe with their ethnic title Paeon or Paeëon as his name, who appears in the Iliad as the physician of the gods in the fifth book. Dione there tells of his healing the wound which Heracles inflicted upon the god of Death.

τῷ δ' ἐπὶ Παιήων ὀδυνήφατα φάρμακα πάσσων
ἠκέσατ'. οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητός γ' ἐτέτυκτο.

[1] Pindar, *Pyth.* IV, 270 ff. [2] Maximus of Tyre, 8, 8. [3] *Tereus*, frag. 582 (Pearson).
[4] Bothe σέβας for σέλας. [5] XI, 447.

In the same book Paeon heals the wound of Ares inflicted by Diomede and the simile used in illustration is an excellent description of the effect of a styptic in stanching the flow of blood.

Ὣς φάτο καὶ Παιήον' ἀνώγειν ἰήσασθαι.
τῷ δ' ἐπὶ Παιήων ὀδυνήφατα φάρμακα πάσσων
ἠκέσατ', οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητὸς ἐτέτυκτο,
ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν
ὑγρὸν ἐόν, μάλα δ' ὦκα περιτρέφεται κυκόωντι
ὣς ἄρα καρπαλίμως ἰήσατο θοῦρον Ἄρηα.

"Thus spake he and bade Paeon heal. And Paeon putting the painkilling herbs on Ares' wound healed him, for Ares was immortal. As when fig-juice by its quick action curdles the milk which is liquid, but thickens quickly at the stirring, so Paeon quickly healed fierce Ares."

The simile has generally been understood to suggest magic and miraculous healing, but curdling of the milk with wild fig-juice, which has been criticized as irrelevant, could not be excelled in picturesque value for illustrating the effect of a styptic. The physician's work in the Iliad is scientific, though in the Odyssey there is the use of an incantation to stop the flow of blood when the uncles of Odysseus tend the wound which he got from the wild-boar's tusk.[1]

δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν
ἔσχεθον.

The Greek army has two physicians in its force, sons of Asklepios from Trikka in Thessaly, Podaleirios and Machaon, and in several places the treatment of wounds is mentioned. Machaon sucks the blood from Menelaus' wound and then applies the styptic herb with skill. His father had taught him what he in his turn had learned

[1] *Od.* 19, 455 f.

from Cheiron. A physician[1] is defined as one who cuts out arrowheads and lays on soothing herbs, and again we have physicians called[2]

—πολυφάρμακοι—ἕλκε' ἀκεόμενοι.

In Iliad 11, 829 ff. the work of the physician is described: "Cut out the arrow from my thigh and wash the black blood from the wound in soft water and lay on the gentle herbs, which they say you have learned from Achilles, whom Cheiron, justest of Centaurs, taught. For the physicians Podaleirios and Machaon, one is lying wounded in his tent, needing himself the aid of a good physician, and the other in the plain is meeting fierce battle with the Trojans." Patroklos took the hero to his tent and, after extracting the arrow and washing the wound in clear water, laid upon it a bitter root, which he rubbed in his hand and it stopped the pain, the wound was cleansed, and the flow of blood stayed.

In 1911[3] I called attention to the derivation of the name of the Homeric physician of the gods from the ethnic title of the Paeonian tribe. The naming of the god by the ethnic title is in accord with a Thracian trait noted by Perdrizet.[4] "It seems," he says, "that the Thracians particularly scrupled to designate their god by name. Vague appellations, θεὸς κύριος, ἥρως often accompanied by a place designation, appeared to satisfy their uneasy and suspicious piety."

The Paeonian chief Asteropaios, who traces his descent on the one side back to his father's father, the River Axios, says that the wife of Axios was Periboia, daughter of Akessamenos. This god or hero of the Paeonians has his name from the verb which is used of Paeon's function,

[1] *Il.* 11, 514–15. [2] *Il.* 16, 28 f.

[3] In a paper delivered before the American Philological Association, afterward published in *C.R.* (1912).

[4] *Cultes et mythes du Pangée*, p. 21.

a verb which in the Iliad is the word for the treatment of wounds, e. g., when Artemis and Leto care for the wound of Aeneas in the fifth book and when Glaukos implores Apollo to heal his wound in the sixteenth book:[1]

ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μοι, ἄναξ, τόδε καρτερὸν ἕλκος ἄκεσσαι,
κοίμησον δ' ὀδύνας.

The word was sacred in the worship of Asklepios, which was derived from that of the Paeonian medicine-god: a female deity Akeso, daughter of Asklepios, was worshipped together with Epione, a name derived from the ἤπια φάρμακα of Paeon and Cheiron in the Iliad and ἤπιος, "with gentle touch," so often used of gods of healing. It cannot be doubted that Akessamenos was a hero of the Paeonian tribe, whose worship had sprung from the same source as that of the god called Paeon, who represents the power and strength of the cleansing and purifying and energizing sun,[2] that makes the good plants grow. The verb ἀκέομαι is used in the Iliad of healing by Paeon, by Artemis and Leto, by ἰητροὶ πολυφάρμακοι, and by Apollo. It has also a metaphorical use. The medical treatment consists in sucking the clotted blood from the wound by the physician, or washing the wound in soft (warm) water and laying on the styptic root.

Paeon is both "sun-god" and "vegetation-god" and "belonging to the circle of his worshippers," is possessed of all the scientific knowledge to which this tribe of ῥιζοτόμοι had attained.

The ethnic title has all the reticence and vagueness that Perdrizet finds characteristic of Thracian worship. The name Σώζων for a Thracian god expresses the beneficent side of that deity, while Ἀπόλλων, in my opinion, gives the destructive side of a godhead who became among the Greeks the god of prophecy, music,

[1] 16, 523. [2] Sophocles, frag. 752 (Pearson).

and medicine. The word Phoibos refers to the kathartic and purifying power of the god who destroys pests and is called upon by his paean song to drive away the pestilence, which he may send if his purity is offended.[1]

παιὰν δὲ λάμπει, στονόεσσά τε γῆρυς ὅμαυλος—

"Lo, joy—cries to fright the Destroyer".[2]

A Macedonian daimon called Darron, who is defined by Hesychius as a daimon to whom the Macedonians pray in behalf of the sick, may have been an ethnic title of the tribe of Derrones, who lived about Prasias, home of the Paeonian Lake Dwellers, now Lake Doiran. The name is considered by Hoffmann to be connected with θαρρέω, θαρσέω and the encouragement θάρρει addressed to the sick. But as Apollo[3] Δερρωναῖος appears on the coins of the Paeonian king Lukkeios, it seems at least probable that we have another instance of the vague naming of gods by a descriptive adjective,[4] of which Perdrizet speaks, the most famous instance of which is Paeon, if, as I have suggested, his name is the ethnic title of the tribe of the Paeonians.

The dwellers by the Axios became famed for their skill in treating wounds with their φάρμακα and one of these still goes by the name of the discoverers of its value in staying the flow of blood. There is small doubt that this was the "bitter root" which Patroklos shredded to make a poultice for the wound of Eurypylus.[5] "Vetustissima inventu Paeonia est nomenque auctoris retinet," writes the elder Pliny[6] and in several places he speaks of its magic and its medical properties. Its styptic power he notes in XXVI 131, "Sanguinis profluvia sistit herbae Paeoniae semen rubrum; eadem et in radice vis" and elsewhere. Dioscurides of Amazarba in his treatise

[1] *Cf.* Soph., *O.T.*, 186. [2] Gilbert Murray's translation. [3] Head, *H.N.*, 236.
[4] Svoronos, *J.I.N.*, 1919, 126; Head, *H.N.*, p. 201.
[5] *Il.* 11, 846. [6] *N.H.*, 25, 27.

περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς considers the peony from an entirely medical point of view. He gives the following list of names:

γλυκυσίδη (=sweet pomegranate), πεντόβορον (from its five sepals), ὀροβέλιον, ὀροβάξ, αἱμαγωγόν, παισαίδην, μηνογένειον, μήνιον, πανθικέρατον, Ἰδαῖοι δάκτυλοι, ἀγλαοφωτίς, θεοδόνιον, σελήνιον, σεληνόγονον, φθίσι, and (so-called by the Romans) κάστα.

Many of these names, among them *aglaophotis*, bring the peony in direct connection with the moon. Of the plant under this name Pliny writes, "hac Magos uti cum velint deos evocare." It is evidently the name of the beaming moon transferred to the plant which in the hands of a witch or wizard can bring her down from heaven. The best commentary on the name ἀγλαοφωτίς is found in Aelian,[1] where an interesting account of sympathetic magic with the peony, here called ἀγλαοφωτίς and κυνόσπαστος, is given. This author says that the plant in the daytime escapes notice and by no means catches the eye; but at night it shines out and gleams like a star, for it is like a flame of fire. So the ῥιζοτόμοι mark it at the root by night, as they would not be able to recognize its color, or its aspect by day. They dare not dig the plant themselves, as the first to do this perished speedily. They bring to the spot a young hound who is starving, after days of going without food, and fasten him to the peony stalk by a stout rope, placing savory food just out of his reach. Rushing for the food the dog drags the peony up by the roots. When the sun beholds the root of the peony, the dog dies and he is buried on the spot by the root-diggers, who perform a secret ritual over him, and honor him as having died in their stead. After this they dare to touch the mysterious plant, take

[1] I, 14, 27.

it home, and use it for many purposes, chief among which is the healing of the diseases caused by the moon (epilepsy) and the hardening of the aqueous part of the eye. In this account we find sympathetic magic by dragging (σπάω) by the dog to get the plant which cures σπάσματα; hence the name κυνόσπαστος. The offering of the dog is presumably to Hekate, the moon-goddess, in whose garden the peony grows, and whose special sacrificial animal is the dog.

The single red peony, *paeonia officinalis*, as it is called from its healing properties, still grows in the Balkans and on the mountain tops of Greece. It was brought to England about three hundred and fifty years ago with its penumbra of magic and folk-lore accompanying it, and among the old herbalists "the outlandish single peony" is recommended against insanity, convulsions, and all diseases thought to be caused by the moon. The roots and seeds are sometimes recommended as an "electuary," or potion, the recommendation being added, "And last let them wear a necklace of single pyonie roots always about their necks." The time for giving the peony potion is specified as three days after the change and full of the moon. "Peony is an herb of the sun," says Nicholas Culpepper in the English Physician Enlarged (1728) and he adds that it is good against nightmares and melancholy. This wisdom is descended from Pliny,—"Haec medetur in quiete Faunorum ludibriis"—and from much earlier "science."

Both Theophrastus and Aelian speak of the violence suffered by the one who tries to uproot the peony. This refers to its antispasmodic action. The woodpecker is said to have the peony under his special charge and to peck out the eyes of those who dig it by day. This bird is the bird of the oak tree, who is sometimes a sun-god and worshipped by the Paeonians under the name of

Dryalus.[1] Sophocles wrote a play called "The Root-diggers," in which we have a famous invocation to the Sun and Hekate, who bears aloft her sacred spear of fire as she mounts Olympus and dwells in holy spots where three roads meet, crowned with the oak and coils of poisonous snakes.

Ἥλιε δέσποτα καὶ πῦρ ἱερὸν τῆς ἐνοδίας Ἑκάτης ἔγχος,
τὸ δ' Ὀλύμπου πωλοῦσα φέρει καὶ γῆς ναίουσ' ἱερὰς
τριόδους
στεφανωσαμένη δρυὶ καὶ πλεκταῖς ὠμῶν σπειραῖσι δρα-
κόντων.

The Sun and Hekate, the Moon-goddess of this invocation, the deities worshipped by the rootdiggers, are the Sun and Moon gods of Paeonia, whose women worshipped Artemis βασιλεία. Herodotus[2] in describing the cereal offerings sent from the land of the Hyperboreans to Apollo at Delos says that the sacred offerings wrapped in a cornstalk are offered in the same manner to Artemis βασιλεία by the Thracian and Paeonian women. The peony also is sacred to both sun and moon. In the Daphnephoria at Delphi the sun was represented by a globe at the top of a pole of olive-wood, with a moon-globe half way down the pole; the globes were bound with fillets, saffron for the sun and red for the moon. The pole was decked with flowers. In Paeonia the sun was worshipped by a disk at the end of a pole. We may set by his side in Paeonia the moon goddess and recognize in her the goddess worshipped by Paeonian women with offerings of earth's fruits. The fact that women worship Artemis βασιλεία is significant of her lunar nature. "The moon is Kourotrophos. She quickens the young of the tribe in their mother's womb; at one terrible hour especially is she a lion to women who have offended

[1] Gerhard for Δύαλος. *Cf.* Hesych., *s.v.* [2] Hdt., 4, 33.

against her holiness. She also marks the seasons of sowing and ploughing, and in due time the ripening of the crops."[1] Roman inscriptions[2] in Moesia and Pannonia, which are dedications *Dianae Reginae* and *Dianae Reginae et Apolloni*, suggest the same pair of heavenly deities and the order of their names is significant. The moon-goddess is the older deity and "When men learn to calculate in larger units, the sun appears."

The connection of Apollo and Artemis with sun and moon is often denied because Homer does not identify them with Helios and Selene, the latter of whom he altogether ignores as a deity. But the case is that in Homer the gods are in an anthropomorphic stage and are so dramatized and fitted into the scheme of his poem that it is not reasonable to look to the Iliad and Odyssey for a complete account of the nature-worship which we know lay back of the anthropomorphic stage. The ease with which the poet imagines the Scamander river now choked with the bodies of the dead, or pouring its waters over its banks, and roaring with its swelling waters, and now in the form of a man speaking with human accents, shows how near nature-worship was even to Homer. Yet most of his gods are entirely human, except for a degree of supernatural power and for their exemption from death. The epithets and other traditional phrases are revealing, especially in the case of Zeus, the lord of thunder and of lightning, the sender of the rain-floods, gatherer of the clouds and dweller in ether, wrapped in black clouds. These reflect a stage of religion that preceded the stage in which was formed the figure of Hera's husband in the Iliad, telling his son Ares that he is his mother's own child in his overbearing and brawling spirit, unable to save his beloved son Sarpedon from death, cajoled and cheated by Hera and, in anger

[1] Murray G., *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 44.
[2] *C.I.L.*, III2; 1003, 6160, 7447, 8023, 11,086.

at the cheating, knocking the gods about his palace, and when wearied of the deaths of Greeks and Trojans on the battlefield, setting the gods to fighting solemnly for his amusement. This thoroughly anthromorphic *pater familias*, with the virtues and vices that belong to the head of the celestial family, is far-removed from the old "Rain-Maker," who controlled the Sky.

Apollo and Artemis are both "destroyers." Their names probably indicate that, and their functions in the Iliad and Odyssey of bringing natural death, Apollo to men and Artemis to women, are indicative of a chthonian character. Stengel notes the fact that the offerings to the Sun are thoroughly chthonian in character, though he says the sun is the one deity that one can say is *not* chthonian. But it may be said that any deity which has to do with light and darkness, life and death, has a chthonian side and Miss Harrison has shown that "Helios is only the bright side of Hades."[1]

The sun-god of Paeonia, whose plant is the healing "bitter root" of the peony, which stops the flow of blood, which belongs to the physicians of the Iliad and to Achilles, who has learned of its use from the Centaur Cheiron, has dwindled to the physician of the gods, Paeon in the Iliad. That god and Apollo both act the physician's part, Paeon, as already noted, healing twice in the fifth book, Apollo in like manner healing the wound of Glaukos and washing and preparing the body of Sarpedon. He also keeps the body of Hector sweet and fair as though he himself had brought painless and gentle death to him. Moreover, after the pestilence was stopped by him and the sacrifice was offered, the soldiers gave the day up to music to please the god and sang a beautiful paean in honor of the Far-Darter. The word which is used for the paean-song is the same in spelling as the

[1] J. A. K. Thomson, *Greek Tradition*, p. 118.

name of the physician-god. Paeon in the Iliad has but one function, that of laying on the soothing herbs and stopping the flow of blood, but from this function and from the paean or ἐπῳδή, chant of healing, which we learn of from the Odyssey, which is so common a part of later magic medicine-practice both for blessing and for cursing, were developed the functions of the ἰατρόμαντις Apollo and also those of the god of music.

Trikka, the famous Thessalian seat of healing, learned the use of the bitter root which the Paeonian medicine-men had discovered and the sons of the excellent Healer, Asklepios, brought it with them to Troy. When Machaon applies it to the wound of Menelaos, out of which he sucked the infection which came from the arrowhead, it is said that Cheiron had once given the good and healing herbs to Asklepios. The same Centaur had taught the use of them to Achilles, who kept a supply of them in his tent.

Now, Cheiron, whose name connotes skill with the hand, stands for the tribe that was the source of the knowledge of roots and medicinal herbs which was imparted to the Thessalians. I suggest that this tribe was that of the Eordaeans,[1] who once lived in the Dotian plain, at their city called Amyrus, on the Amyrus river.[2] Stephen of Byzantium says that they also had the names of Hippocentauri and Centauri. They were a Paeonian tribe in origin, whose former home was on the old road called by the Romans the Egnatian Way, and their town, Kellae, or Kelle, is given by the Itineraries as the point between Herakleia Lykestis (Monastir) and Edessa.[3] Their territory lay in upper Macedonia, commanding the pass into lower Macedonia, bounded on the north by Pelagonia, Lynkestis on the west, Edessa on the east, and

[1] Fick, *op. cit.*, 24, for the identity of Eordaeans and Leleges; 43–44 for Lelegian Sun-cult.

[2] Abel, O., *Makedonien vor König Philipp* (1847), p. 63 f. [3] Polyb. 34, 12, 7.

Elimeia on the south. They are mentioned by Herodotus in a list of Balkan tribes who furnished foot soldiery to Xerxes, their name coming between Paeonians and Bottiaeans. Thucydides says that they were almost exterminated by the Macedonians when that tribe was stretching its grasp after and absorbing the neighboring tribes. Lykophron[1] mentions them: "My grandfather laid waste the stretch of Thrace and the land of the Eordaeans and the Galadraeans and fixed the boundary of his sovereignty at the river Peneius."

Livy in giving their position in the "quarta regio" of Macedon speaks of the harshness of the country and climate and says that the natural ferocity of these tribes was increased by their barbarous neighbors, who now attacked them in war and again mingled their rites with theirs in time of peace. His mentions of the country in the thirty-first and fortieth books show its importance because of its command of the military positions.

If, as Kretschmer thinks not improbable, the Paeonians gave the southern tribes which later were grouped under the name of Hellenic, the name for the horse, it is not strange that the Paeonian Eordaeans from the Bermion region were Hippocentauri and Centauri. The names recall the phrase κέντορες ἵππων* used in the Iliad once for the Trojans and once for the Kadmeians. Some authorities have thought[2] that the Centauri were wild mountain streams, with which the historical Lapiths had to contend in bringing the land under cultivation;

[1] *Alexandra*, 1842.

* I have (see p. 66) suggested that the word Kentauros hasin it the Thracian word for horse given by Tomaschek in the forms aulo-, abro-, avro-. In that case the word would be an equivalent of κέντωρ ἵππων. Professor E. H. Sturtevant, to whom I spoke of the possibility, has gone further into the matter and suggests, in a paper yet unpublished, that Kentauros is derived from two Thracian roots given by Tomaschek which would make the word the exact equivalent of φίλιππος. I still hold, provisionally, to my own interpretation, although Professor Sturtevant brings forward some extremely cogent arguments. The absence of such compounds as Philippos from the Iliad is striking.

[2] See Roscher, *s.v.*

others that they were like the Sileni, wild spirits of the mountain forests. Even if either of these interpretations is accepted, it must be admitted that the conception of the Hippocentauri depended on the presence of the horse and that they could have been imagined only by a people among whom the horse had become known. In my opinion, the Hippocentauri,[1] to whom the Thessalian god of healing, Cheiron, belonged, were historical as their adversaries, the Lapiths, and the name denoted the settlement in Thessaly of the Eordaean branch of the horse-using Paeonians, in the Dotian plain near Lake Boebeis. According to one version Apollo was the father of both Centaurus and of Lapithes by Stilbe, daughter of the Peneius.

In Cheiron, the Centaur, Pindar's Divine Beast,[2] we have the Thessalian healer, the counterpart of the Paeonian medicine-man, and since his work is good, Homer adds to his name in the eleventh book the description "Justest of the Centaurs." If the Centauri are, as is usually believed, the Beasts of the Mountain, whom Nestor fought in his youth when aiding the Lapiths, the epithet in Homer does not necessarily imply a high degree of δικαιοσύνη among the other Centauri. However, Cheiron expresses the medical skill of his tribe. Diodorus writes of them that some authorities have said that because they were the first to attempt to ride on horseback the Centaurs were called Hippocentaurs. In the Eordaeans, then, or Hippocentauri of the river Amyrus may be found, I suggest, the link between the art of the Root-Diggers in the lands to the north and that of Thessaly; an art which had a long history; from it after many centuries there developed the Greek science of medicine.

[1] Fick, *op. cit.*, 29 f., regards the "wild men who broke into Thessaly under the mythical name of Kentauri" as Illyrian in origin, or Illyrian and Lelegian.

[2] *Pyth.* IV, 119.

CHAPTER VIII

HELIOS-HADES, PAEON-APOLLO, AND POSEIDON

God! of whom music
And song and blood are pure,
The day is never darkened
That had thee here obscure.
—George Meredith.

"AND dread Hades like the rest endured the swift arrow, when this same mortal, son of aegis-bearing Zeus, shot at him in Pylos among the dead and gave him to anguished pains. Hades went to Zeus' house and to high Olympus, pierced by pain; for the arrow had been driven into his strong shoulder and brought anguish to his soul. And Paeon put on his hurt herbs to kill the pain and healed him; for he was not made to die."[1]

This passage, as Miss Harrison says of it in her brilliant demonstration that Helios and Hades are identical, is "full of sun-mythology." Farnell in his book on Greek Hero Cults notes the important and recognized fact that the bright personal deities of Greek polytheism may throw off their epithets as suns may throw off satellites, the epithets then becoming the descriptive names of subordinate divinities or heroines.[2] In the case of no other divinities is this process, here so happily described, more apparent than with Helios and Selene. Epithets which refer to their brightness and obscuration and to their position in the heavens have been prolific in producing

[1] *Il.* 5, 395 ff. [2] *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 86.

other beings who have had careers of their own, which have often taken them so far away from the original source that hardly a trace remains of their origin. The most conspicuous example of this proliferation of sun epithets is the god of the lower world (the Unseen Sun, as Miss Harrison has so convincingly shown), who rules the world below. Opposed to him in position is the Sun Ὑπερίων, an epithet which has been recognized as a comparative, like the Latin *superior*,[1] and by a common Greek idiom used in the comparative, instead of the superlative when compared with its antithesis. The epithet, Hyperion, like the epithet Ἀΐδης, assumes a personality, but one far less important than that of Hades. Like many of the sun and moon epithets this one becomes a relative of the deity in question and very properly weds a moon-epithet, Euryphaessa, producing for his offspring Sun, Moon, and Dawn. Again, Titan at Titane is called brother of the Sun and Pausanias says of him that it is because he is good at looking after the seasons of the year and the times when the sun makes seed grow and ripens fruit that he is called brother of Helios.[2]

A famous son of the Sun whose personality developed from such an epithet was Phaethon, whose name appears once in the Iliad[3] and four times in the Odyssey[4] to mark the sun in his brightness and in the twenty-third book of the Odyssey has become a name for a steed of the Dawn; a daughter of the Sun whose name may be derived from an epithet of the sun or, as Pausanias[5] thinks from one of the moon, is Pasiphae, who becomes the Cretan goddess and queen. And Hekate appears either as the daughter of the Sun in the heaven, or of the unseen sun in the lower world. Here is another epithet-goddess, whose cult developed psychologically in the domain of superstitious practices which clustered about

[1] Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 20 ff. [2] Pausanias, II, 11, 5. [3] *Il.* 11, 735.
[4] Od. 5, 479; 11, 16; 19, 441; 22, 388. [5] 3, 26, 1.

the moon, who is called daughter of Helios, παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς, according to the scholiast to Aratus 445.

The variations and discrepancies in the relationships of sun and moon indicate the beginnings of myths which crystallized into beliefs and cult-worship of such definite deities as Apollo, Artemis, Hades and Persephone, Hekate and others. Miss Harrison has pointed out how little myth there is concerned with Hades, who has his steeds apparently only for the carrying off of Persephone. But the steeds belong first to Helios Hyperion and consequently Hades is κλυτόπωλος, an epithet which, as Miss Harrison says, is the αἴτιον for the Persephone myth. He is also worshipped as Zeuxippos with Basile and the beautiful stele found in Athens of Echelos and Basile depicts the carrying away of the goddess.[1] It is eminently fitting that Paeon, the sun-god, should heal the wound made by the arrow of Herakles in the shoulder of the god who represents the Unseen Sun.

"Pylos among the dead" is in the west at the setting of the sun, ἀμφὶ μὲν ἀελίου κνεφαίαν ἱππόστασιν, where the horses of the Sun are unyoked for the night to bathe in Ocean, while their Driver descends to the magic bed or into the gold cup which bore him across the sea to the shore where fresh steeds awaited him. The darkness comes on:—

ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' Ὠκεανῷ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο,
ἕλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν.

And the sinister effect of the night brings with it προκυλίσεις, lamentations, and προσκυνήσεις, entreaties,[2] and magic songs to prevent the sun from sinking. Pausanias[3] tells of two divinities worshipped at Titane, a place notable for sun-worship, who are evidently derived from fear of the night and delight in the day; they are Alexanor,

[1] See p. 77. [2] Plat., *Legg.* 10, 867. [3] 2, 11, 5.

He who wards off Ill,—an epithet which is equivalent to Alexikakos, used with Apollo and Asklepios,— and Euamerion, He of the Cheerful Day, or the Joyous One. Alexanor is the son of Machaon, son of Asklepios, and was the successor of Titan, brother of the Sun at Titane. He was worshipped with special chthonian rites after sunset as a hero, while Euamerion had sacrifice as a god.

Primitive imagination was not strong enough to picture the place to which the sun, unseen on earth, had gone as bright and shining. It was for the Orphics to do that.

Τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω,
φοινικορόδοις τ' ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν
καὶ λιβάνῳ σκιαρὸν καὶ χρυσέοις καρποῖς βεβριθός.[1]

"The strength of the sun shines for these below, while it is night here, and the meadows in the space before their city is red with roses, and fragrant trees give shade, and their branches are heavy with golden fruits."

Pindar's picture comes from a new hope. Homer knows only the home of the Dead, monstrous and mouldering, σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ. And so the god, who was allotted the misty dark, Ἀΐδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόεντα,[2] is cheerless and inflexible and most hated by men of all the gods. His one great adventure, the carrying off the daughter of Demeter, is told in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. There, as Miss Harrison has noted, Hekate with lovely veil[3] and the Sun, bright son of Hyperion, who are apparently in the cave in which they were fabled to spend the time together when the Sun was not shining upon earth, are the only ones to hear the cry of Persephone when her uncle,[4] carried her off in her immortal chariot. And later[5] it is the Sun in his chariot who reveals to Demeter the fate

[1] Pindar, frag., 122. [2] *Il.* 15, 191. [3] *Hymn* II, 24 ff.
[4] *Hymn* II, 31. [5] *Hymn* II, 74, ff.

of her daughter in the misty twilight of the western world of shadows.

Pausanias[1] mentions as the most conspicuous temple and statue of the market-place in Elis that of Apollo Akesios, on the other side of which were statues of the Moon, with horns on her head, and the rayed Sun. He interprets Akesios as Alexikakos and this is of course an equivalent of Alexanor. Apollo also had the title of Akestor. So the hero Alexanor who is worshipped with purificatory rites (ἐναγίζουσι) has a name that shows him to be of the same order of beings as Phoibos Apollo, with his titles Alexikakos, Akesios, and Akestor. Alexanor is grandson of Asklepios and so great-grandson of Apollo.

The title Phoibos which occurs so constantly in the Iliad with the name of Apollo has been interpreted as bright, but the idea of purification is inherent in it.[2] The word represents the cleansing power of Apollo. Stengel says that if any deity is not chthonic, it is Helios, but that no one can deny that the offerings to him are thoroughly chthonic in character. In Alexanor, the deity of healing, grandson of Asklepios and great-grandson of Apollo, worshipped with chthonic rites after nightfall, we see a conception that is intermediate between the Healing and Purifying Sun and the grim god of night Ἀΐδης, who is the Unseen Sun.

That Apollo is one with Paeon as ἰατρόμαντις is evident from the paean-song sung to Apollo after the priest's prayer and sacrifice in the first book of the Iliad, and from the fact that both are, in the Iliad, deities of healing. With no other deities in the Iliad except Paeon, Apollo, and the mother and sister of the latter, Leto and Artemis, is the verb ἀκέομαι, to heal, used.

Paeon, as I have already said, is an ethnic title of the Thracian-Illyrian type and used with the "Thracian"

[1] 6, 24, 6. [2] *Themis*, p. 387, 388.

vagueness[1], probably to agree with Helios, or at least with θεός understood. He is the sun-god specialized as a god of ἤπια φάρμακα, herbs of healing. It is highly significant that the root-diggers' invocation in the play by Sophocles of that name greets the Sun and Hekate crowned with the oak, who is evidently the Moon. The Paeonian god Dryalos (if the emendation of Hesychius' *Aualos* and *Dualos* to this form is correct) was a god of the oak and so of the sun. "The benevolent heaven-god of the steppes worshipped by a pastoral people might become associated with the oak in the mind of that same people when he was found to strike that tree especially in the forest which they were labouring to clear for purposes of agriculture." Warde Fowler, from whose "Oak and Thunder God" in "Roman Essays and Interpretations" I have just quoted, gives remarkable statistics to show that there "is practically no doubt that the oak is more frequently struck than any other species of tree." The name of Prince Asteropaios of Paeonia, derived from the word for lightning, was doubtless a cult title of the god. "The God" whom the Getae threaten with their arrows, shot at the sky when thunder and lightning occur, is the Sun-God, who is, as well as Zeus, the personification of the Sky-God, being the "eye of heaven."

The prevalence of chthonic names among the Trojans has been noted by Gruppe and Malten, but so far as I know, no one has connected them with the sun-worship, which the Trojans shared with the Paeonians and Thracians, their allies and kinsfolk. This sun-worship is attested for Zeleia, where the Trojan Lykians lived and Apollo had his oracular seat; it may be inferred as the background for the worship of Apollo at Troy and the close connection between that god and the Paeonian

[1] Perdrizet, *loc. cit.* See also Farnell, *Hero Cults*, 83 ff., on "concealing the proper name."

Sun-god. Such Trojan names as Adamas, Pandokos, Laodokos, may be cited as having a meaning appropriate to the god of the world of shadows, which is called πάνδοκος by Aeschylus:[1]

τὰν ἀστιβῆ 'πόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον,
πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

Names compounded with Lao– have been considered as titles of Hades, for example by Malten[2] and by Gruppe.[3] I have already spoken of the prevailingly Trojan character of the names which appear in the Iliad beginning with Lao–. Sayce, in an article in the *Classical Review*,[4] speaks of the element laFos ending a title, akenano-laFos, given to Midas the king. He identifies this ending with the word discovered in the native Lydian inscriptions at Sardis, *lefs*, which appears to mean "God", and applies this to the name Laokoon, suggesting for the latter part, –koon, the derivation which I had already suggested in a passage discussing the names in the Iliad with the ending –koon.[5] The meaning "God" would serve excellently for Laomedon, Laokoon, and Laogonos, "God-Wisdom," "God-Priest," "God-Born," but there is difficulty with Laodokos, which naturally means Receiver of the Folk, and Laodamas, which also lends itself better to the interpretation "Queller of the Host" or "Queller of the Folk." Laogonos gets an apparently better meaning, God-Born, for a royal name if we connect the first part with *lefs*, with which Sayce connects the first part of Laokoon and Laomedon. However, the name Teutagonos, which appears to mean "Born of the Folk" and Astygonos, which means "Child of the Settlement or Habitation," support the meaning Born of the Folk or Tribe for Laogonos. In this meaning Laogonos

[1] *Sept.*, 857 ff.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 187, Echelaos and Agesilaos; p. 193, n. 51.
[3] I, 307, 400, 406. [4] *C.R.*, 1922, p. 19. [5] *J.H.S.*, 1919, p. 66.

would be an exact equivalent for the English word *king*. I quote from Skeat as follows for the derivation of king. "AS cyning——AS cyn, a tribe or race, kin; with suffix –ing. The suffix –ing means 'belonging to,' and is frequently used with the sense 'son of,' as in Aelfred Athelwulfing, = Aelfred, son of Athelwulf; A. S. Chronicle, an. 871. Thus cyning = son of the tribe, i. e. chosen of the tribe, or man of rank."

The name Teutamias or Teutamos is implied by Teutamides, the patronymic of Lethus, the Pelasgian ally of the Trojans, coming from a Larisa in the Troad. Mr. T. W. Allen[1] says that Teutamos, the name which he assumes as the father's name implied in Teutamides, has an Asiatic sound, for which *provenance* he refers to Diodorus, who mentions in II. 22 a contemporary of Priam of that name, who was king of Assyria at the time of the Trojan War and in alliance with Priam, who is represented as a vassal (ὑπήκοον) of the Assyrian king. The name Teutamos is otherwise Macedonian, belonging to the famous leader of the Argyraspides, mentioned by Plutarch, Polyaenus, and Diodorus. So, if the name is authentic in the Assyrian genealogy, it may well have come in through the alliance with the Trojans, among whom the Danubian names abounded. Hellanikos (*F. H. G.*, I., 45) gives the names Pelasgos, Phrastor, Amyntor, Teutamides, Nanas for the Thessalian-Pelasgian genealogy and of these Phrastor and Amyntor are characteristically north Greek formations. According to A. Holder[2] the names Teutagonos, Teutamos, Teutamias, Teutates, Teutaros, are all derived from teuta– = folk, tribe. And the names Agelaos, Arkesilaos, Erualos, Menelaos naturally mean "Defending the Folk," "Leading the Folk," "Protecting the Folk," etc. The names in general yield a satisfactory meaning from λαός, in the meaning folk,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 158. [2] *Cf.* Roscher, *Lexikon*, Vol. 5, p. 435–7.

or host, and with such a name as Menelaos or Agelaos this meaning seems to be the only possible one.

In the genealogy in the twentieth book two of the names, Dardanos and Tros, are clearly tribal ethnics and, as has been noted already, the genealogy seems to have been invented to bring out a (false) priority of the Dardanian tribe over that of the Trojans. The name of Alastor, the father of Tros, "Avenging Spirit" or "*Revenant*," is a title of Helios, according to Eustathios. Erichthonios, though its derivation is greatly disputed, is recognized as connected with Erichthonios of Athens. I interpret it as referring to worship of Poseidon Hippios and as a title of that god. Laomedon is referred by Gruppe and Malten to Hades, a "shadowy folk-ruler," as Malten interprets the name. His son Lampos bears a name appropriate to the Sun; in Odyssey 23, 246 Lampos is a companion to Phaethon as a name for one of the two steeds of Dawn. Tithonos, the husband of the Dawn, has a name that is generally connected with Titan, a name for the sun or for the brother of the sun. Klytios is reminiscent of Klymenos, a god worshipped at Hermione, with his temple opposite to the temple of the goddess Chthonia, whose name Pausanias[1] believes to be an epithet "of the god said to be king under the earth."[2] Hiketaon the Suppliant (or Friend of Suppliants),[3] the fifth son of Laomedon mentioned, has a name that suggests a priestly office. The line of Assarakos, Kapys, Anchises, and Aeneas, has names which are debatable, though apparently all "Thracian," and offer no such illuminating epithets or titles as the members of the house of Laomedon. The name of Laomedon's son,[4] Priamos, has been connected with Thracian *-bria*, and made equivalent to

[1] 2, 35, 9.
[2] *Cf.* Paus. 6, 25, 3, for temple and worship of Hades in Elis.
[3] Fick-Bechtel, p. 383.
[4] Buckler and Robinson, *A.J.A.*, 1912, p. 47.

Pergamos or Pergasos in meaning. Hector's name, as I have suggested, may stand for Echelaos, a title of Hades.

Malten[1] discusses the connections between Poseidon, the god of fresh-water streams, dwelling within the earth which he now shakes with his trident and again blesses with seed and with springs of water, and the Earth-mother, relations which antedate the anthropomorphic gods of Homer and are, in his opinion, rooted in a stage of theriomorphic conceptions. Living in the earth and ruling within it, this Poseidon stands in close relation also to the ruler of the lower world, whose most comprehensive name is Hades. From this point Malten develops the likeness between the two gods. He cites the passage in which[2] Poseidon shook the earth from beneath, at which shock the lord of the shades under the earth, Aidoneus, leaped in terror from his throne, dreading that his monstrous mouldering house, which the gods loathe, should be disclosed to mortals and immortals. He finds proof in the genealogies of various Greek tribes and in substitutions in legend that the two gods were closely connected. Εν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι Hades is wounded. Neleus, "the Pitiless", appears as a name for Hades in a fragment of Hesiod; Neleus in Odyssey 11, 235 ff. is son of Poseidon and rules ἐν Πύλῳ ἠμαθόεντι. Periklymenos, sometimes son of Neleus and sometimes of Poseidon, has the title of the god of the lower world, who is Klymenos according to Pausanias, and Periklymenos according to Hesychius. Malten cites various coincidences of the kind, notably that Chthonios and Polydektes are found as sons of Poseidon, and that Erichthonios whose name Malten regards as meaning "the powerful lord of the earth (chthon)" is identical with Poseidon on the Acropolis in Athens. The rest of his article is devoted to the point that both of these χλυτό-

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 179–181. [2] *Il.* 20, 54, 55.

πωλοι, Hades and Poseidon, are the gods whose special possession is the horse. The horses of Neleus, of Admetus, and of Erichthonios in the Iliad, as well as the horses of Achilles, which were given to Peleus by Poseidon, are, in Malten's view, beasts of the god of the underworld, whether he is Hades (Laomedon) or Poseidon.

The relation here established between Poseidon γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος, the Earth-dweller, and Hades may, in my opinion, be extended to the god of the Sun in the upper world. Apollo and Poseidon together serve the Trojan king Laomedon and for a year; Apollo serves a year at the home of Admetus in Thessaly and the flocks and herds flourish under his care. The Sun who gives life and light disappears for a season; in the primitive thought he will not return and is bewailed as gone forever. The scholiast to Aratus[1] says that Egyptians mourn when the sun begins his journey from Cancer to Capricorn, thinking he will little by little desert them, and rejoice when he comes back. This is the primitive feeling that lies behind the myths of Apollo serving Admetus, the Thessalian king, whose name is the epithet of the God of Death, and Laomedon, whose name also is a title of that shadowy king. Later Apollo must not tread the sunless path which leads to the unseen shore that welcomes all. A son of Apollo has the name Laodokos according to Apollodorus[2], equivalent to Pandokos, which in a passage of Aeschylus refers to the realm of Hades. It is the name of a Trojan in Iliad 11, 490. In the genealogy of Aegiale, afterward called Sikyon, given in Pausanias,[3] Poseidon and Apollo both appear, Poseidon marrying Orthopolis, daughter of Chrysorthe, who bears Koronos, whose younger son is Laomedon. The name of Epopeus who comes from Thessaly to succeed to the kingdom is an epithet of the sun.

'Ηέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.[4]

[1] Maass, Schol. Ar., p. 54. [2] I, 7, 6. [3] 2, 5, 7, ff. [4] *Il.* 3, 277.

His seizing of Antiope, who has a moon-epithet for a name, is reminiscent of old tales of the loves of the sun and moon. Laomedon succeeds Epopeus and his daughter Zeuxippe marries Sikyon, who becomes eponym of the land, and is expressly said not to spring from Epopeus but from Erechtheus. A Zeuxippos, who is son of Apollo, appears in the account as king of Sikyon, and the king succeeding him is Hippolytos. Klytios also appears as a relative of Laomedon. Homer tells of an Echepolus, son of Anchises and possessor of fine horses who buys off the necessity of going to Troy by giving Agamemnon a beautiful mare. Zeuxippe, daughter of Laomedon and Sikyon, has a daughter Chthonophyle.

Malten[1] discusses the chthonic and Poseidon connection of some of the names in this genealogy in which such names as Zeuxippos are cult-titles of Hades. He discusses Echepolus as a probable Hades—hypostasis, such as Zeuxippos and Melanippos.

The sun connections are equally striking. Epopeus is grandson of the sun. Antiope whom he carries off is daughter of Nukteus or of the river Aesopus. Cook[2] observes that Eumelos in the Korinthiaka (740 B. C.) represented Antiope as wife of Helios rather than of his grandson Epopeus. Following Gruppe, Cook interprets the name Antiope as a moon epithet for the Moon facing the Sun at the time when the Sun and Moon are lovers.[3]

Cook, however, interprets Epopeus as an epithet of Zeus quoting Hesychius on ἐπόπτης, where the definition is found, Ζεύς, ἢ θεατής, ἐπόψιος. καὶ Ἀπόλλων.

Epopeus is grandson of the Sun and his son was called Titanias; Apollo appears twice in the line, as father of Koronos and of Zeuxippos, and the cult of the Sun was strong at Sikyon and the neighboring Titane, where the brother of the Sun, Titan, was worshipped as was Alex-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 195, n. 6. [2] *Zeus*, p. 738. [3] *Nonnus*, 6, 76 ff.

anor, grandson of Apollo. I, therefore, think that Epopeus in Sikyon would best be referred as cult-title to Helios—Apollo. I should count as another sun-epithet hero the king Hippolytus, who, as I suggest, developed from the sunset dirges for the sun with horses loosed, an outgrowth of the same complex of superstitious fears as the hero Alexanor worshipped at Titane after nightfall.

Apollo and Poseidon come into connection with each other in the genealogies of the daughters of Atlas, two of whom have children by Poseidon and one of these two, Alkyone, has a daughter Aithousa, who has a son Eleuther by Apollo. Poseidon and Helios are given by different authorities as father of Augeias of Elis and still others mention Phorbas, The Feeder, as his father. Apollodorus adds to his account of the disputed paternity: "and he had many herds and flocks."[1]

The point of all this discussion of the genealogies, to which much might be added, is that the tribes who worshipped the sun as the source of plenty in herds and flocks and tillage, worshipped also the streams and their god who enriched their fields—φυτάλμιος, φυτάλιος, and gave them and their beasts sweet water for drinking. Both of these gods give life and both are near to the Unseen God beneath the earth, who is the Absence of the Sun and a neighbor to the God who Dwells in the Earth, Poseidon γαιήοχος, who is called Erichthonios. Helios has a son Augeias, who has from his father "this gift pre-eminent, to abound in flocks above all men, and Helios himself did ever and always give increase to the cattle, for upon his herds came no disease, of them that always minish the herdsman's toil. But always more in number waxed the horned kine and goodlier year by year, for verily they all brought forth abundantly and

[1] *Bibliotheca*, II, 5, 4, 5.

never cast their young and bore chiefly heifers."[1] Another Sun-god, Apollo, in the home of Admetus of Pherae rich in flocks, caused all the cows to bear twins. Now a Trojan Admetus, son of Augeias, wounded Meges in the night-battle at Troy (according to Lescheos, quoted by Pausanias[2] in describing the representation of Meges in Polygnotus' picture at Delphi), and the son of Augeias, Agasthenes, had a son Polyxeinos.[3] Here we have the alternation of solar and chthonic names—Helios, Augeias, whose name comes directly from the word for the sun-rays,[4] αὐγαί; then a son Admetus, with the title of inexorable Hades for a name, and a grandson Polyxeinos, the Hospitable, on whose name the best commentary is the ode in the Alkestis of Euripides:

"O the House that loves the Stranger and the House forever free."

ὦ πολύξεινος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἀνδρὸς ἀεί ποτ' οἶκος,
σέ τοι καὶ ὁ Πύθιος εὐλύρας Ἀπόλλων
ἠξίωσε ναίειν.[5]

"Again the hospitality of Admetus was proverbial and the Hospitable, 'He of the Many Guests,' is one of the surnames bestowed (without irony at first) on the god of the dead."[6]

This is Admetus in Thessaly. The Trojan has left no legend except that he wounded Meges in the night-battle. His father is Augeias, named from the sun's rays, and he has his own name from the god of the dead, Whom None can Vanquish. Augeias in Elis has a son Polyxeinos, leader of the Epeans, in the Catalogue.[7] His name is the epithet of Hades—He of the Many Guests—and the name of his father Agasthenes, son of Augeias,

[1] Theocritus, 25, 117 ff., Lang's translation. [2] 10, 25, 5. [3] *Il.* 2, 624.
[4] *Cf.* Pindar, *Ol.* 7, 70: ὀξειᾶν ὁ γενέθλιος ἀκτίνων πατήρ, [5] *Alk.*, 569 ff.
[6] J. A. K. Thomson, *Greek Tradition*, p. 118. [7] *Il.* 2, 623 ff.

refers to the σθένος ἀελίου χρύσεον.[1] Again the title of the sun in heaven alternates with that of the unseen god to whose house all men must come.

There is a curious passage in the Theogony[2] which I have cited before, in which the names of the Rivers whom Tethys bore to Ocean are given, the most of them rivers of the Troad, Thrace, and Asia Minor. They are Nile, Alpheus, deep-flowing Eridanus, Strymon, Maeander, fair-flowing Ister, Phasis, Rhesus, silver-flowing Achelous, Nessus, Rhodius, Haliakmon, Heptaporus, Granicus, Aesepus, divine Simoeis, Peneus, Hermus, fair-flowing Caicus, great Sangarius, Ladon, Parthenius, Euenus, Ardescus, and divine Scamander.

It would be of interest to know why just these rivers were chosen as children of Tethys and why so many of them are from the northern part of the Balkan peninsula and the Troad, from the homes of tribes that worshipped rivers and the sun. Immediately following is a list of the sisters of the rivers, a holy family of nymphs, of whom it is said that they bring youths to manhood with the help of lord Apollo and the Rivers. Tethys and Theia are sisters and their children are the Rivers and the Bright Gods, Sun, Moon, and Dawn. The parents are transparent fictions who are there only as a stage in anthropomorphizing their children, Potamoi, Helios, Selene, Eos. And the water-nymphs who help their brothers the Rivers to initiate the youths with the help of lord Apollo and the Rivers, develop from sacred rites, baptism in rivers and lustrations such as are told of in Paeonia and Thrace, performed by sun and river worshippers in the northern regions which give the worship of Apollo and Poseidon to Greece.

A Spartan grave-inscription attests this function of Apollo, Φοῖβος ἐπ' ἠιθεοῖς τείμια πάντα νέμων,[3] and

[1] Pindar, *Pyth.* IV, 144; also frag. 122. [2] 335 ff. [3] Kaibel, *Epig.*, 473, 4.

Odysseus in the nineteenth book of the Odyssey ascribes to him the fine growth of Telemachus to manhood:—

ἀλλ' ἤδη παῖς τοῖος Ἀπόλλωνός γε ἔκητι.

Miss Harrison in Themis[1] shows the meaning of Apollo as the god who is the projection of the rites which receive the youth into the body of full-grown men. God of the Apella, or god of destruction who brings death with his swift arrows:—who shall say surely which is his derivation? The Greeks thought of ἀπόλλυμι and constantly played upon that meaning.[2] Such word-turnings are found in Homer as well as in the tragedians; but it may be that (as Miss Harrison holds) the name came first from the fold, ἀπέλλα and the body of full-grown men. A great god so soon outgrew and added to the primary meaning of his name that in most cases it is as difficult to arrive at it as it would be to arrive at the original meaning of the word Christ, if we had no knowledge of the rites of the Jewish religion and the sacred meaning of χρίω.

Among the seated gods of the frieze of the Parthenon Apollo turns his beautiful young head, looking into the face of the grave and noble Poseidon, whose uplifted hand rests against the strong shoulder of Apollo. The two are, as Michaelis says,[3] characterized by the glance of Apollo as very closely united. So we have found them together in the genealogies of old royal houses and closely joined in Homer in the work of building and preserving the walls of Troy and in saving the Dardanian Aeneas.

[1] 493 ff.

[2] Plato, *Cratylus*, 404:

ταὐτὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ὅπερ λέγω, πολλοὶ πεφόβηνται περὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς τι δεινὸν μηνύοντος. ἢ οὐκ ἤσθησαι;

ΕΡΜ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ΣΩ. Τὸ δέ γ' ἐστίν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κάλλιστα κείμενον πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ.

[3] *Der Parthenon*, text, pt. 2, p. 258.

The Rivers and Apollo together with the sisters of the Rivers bring youth to manhood, says Hesiod. Poseidon, god of rivers, Apollo, god who kills the pests that threaten fruit and flock, are "aspects" of water and of sun. This does not mean that Apollo is in the old sense a "light-god." Neither "light-god" nor "vegetation-god" is a sufficient formula for the god who gives life by his rays (Augeias), drives away mould from the grain (Erusibios) and defends it from all harm (Sitalkas), besides sending and saving from pestilence, and slaying wild things such as wolves and mice which attack human life and wealth. Farnell combatting "solar symbolism" and the old theory of "Light Apollo" says, "It would be indeed surprising that Apollo with his marked interest in agriculture and vegetation should never have allowed some recognition of Helios in his worship." He admits in the Boeotian Daphnephoria "certain features, which we may call solar," but adds that they reflect sun-magic rather than sun-worship. The well-known passage quoted from Proclus by Photius described the use of the sun-globe, which also denotes Apollo to the worshippers:—"For every nine years in Boeotia the priests bring laurel branches for the feast of Apollo and hymn the god with a chorus of girls . . . They crown a pole of olive wood with laurel branches and bright blossoms. On the top they put a bronze sphere and suspend from it smaller spheres. About the middle of the pole they suspend a sphere smaller than the one on the top and bind it with red fillets; they wind the end of the pole with saffron. The top sphere means the sun, to whom they refer Apollo; and the one that lies beneath is the Moon; the little suspended spheres are the stars and constellations and the fillets indicate the course of the year, for they make 365 fillets."[1]

[1] Cf. Themis, 438-439 for the significance of the Daphnephoria for the calendars of moon and sun.

Farnell's distinction between sun-magic and sun-worship is not a strong argument, as both indicate a cult of the sun in a crude or in a developed fashion. The Paeonians with their disks on the end of a pole "worshipping" the sun and the Getae shooting their arrows in the sky at their god are not worshipping "a sun of righteousness," but are to the best of their knowledge compelling their god to give them their daily life and sustenance.

"The Apolline festivals . . . range over the spring, summer, and autumn periods of the year, and it marks the character of the bright god that none of them are known to have fallen in the winter season . . . And certain days of the month appear to have been specially consecrated to him, the first, the seventh, the fourteenth, the twentieth, which mark the different phases of the moon in the lunar month."[1]

These statements of the connection of Apollo with the course of the year are taken from an authority who does not recognize any connection between Helios and Apollo. Miss Harrison sees more deeply and the heart of the whole matter cannot better be given than in her words.[2] "Aguieus is the fertility of the Earth; the gist of Phoibos is the Sun-Calendar with all its attendant moralities of law and order and symmetry and rhythm and light and reason." And again, "Apollo has more in him of the Sun and the day, of order and light and reason, Dionysus more of the Earth and the Moon, of the divinity of Night and Dreams. Moreover, Apollo is of man's life, separate from the rest of nature, a purely human accomplishment; Dionysus is of man's life as one with nature, a communion, not a segregation."

These words, filled with an insight piercing as the sun's ray into darkness, are worth hundreds of pages of discussion about "how" Apollo became god of medicine, mantic, music, agriculture, and art.

[1] Farnell, IV, p. 258 f. [2] *Themis*, 439.

Proclus[1] says in commenting on the Timeaus that in some sense we may call Dionysus chthonian and we may call Apollo chthonian, as in many places in the earth he sends up mantic waters which prophesy the future. Such mantic waters, we may believe, were the hot springs of the Aesepus near the shrine of the oracular god worshipped by the Trojans. So in the earlier and simpler elemental conceptions of worship that admittedly lie behind the anthropomorphism of Homer, Helios–Hades, Apollo–Paeon, and Poseidon were near one another in Mother Earth who, after the primaeval Chaos, begins the generation of the gods according to the poem called the Begetting of the Gods.[2]

At the upcoming of Phoebus the all-luminous charioteer,
Double-visaged stand the mountains in imperial multitudes,
And with shadows dappled men sing to him, Hail O Beneficent!
For they shudder chill, the earth-vales, at his clouding, shudder to black,
In the light of him there is music thro' the poplar and the river-sedge,
Renovation, chirp of brooks, hum of the forest—an ocean-song.
Never pearl from ocean-hollows by the diver exultingly,
In his breathlessness, above thrust, is as earth to Helios.[3]

[1] Proclus, 4, 282d. [2] *Theog.*, 116 f. [3] George Meredith.

CHAPTER IX

ARTEMIS THE QUEEN

The moon sleeps with Endymion.
—Merchant of Venice.

Your vessels and your spells provide,
Your charms and every thing beside.
I am for the air; this night I'll spend
Unto a dismal and a fatal end:
Great business must be wrought e'er noon:
Upon the corner of the moon
There hangs a vaporous drop profound;
I'll catch it ere it come to ground.
—Macbeth.

HERODOTUS tells[1] of the Hyperborean offerings sent from the north to Delos; these are "sacred things bound in a stalk of corn" and were first brought by two girls, whom the Delians call Hyperoche and Laodike; for safety these are accompanied by five escorts, men who are called Περφερέες, "who have great honor in Delos." He is interested in the offering bound in the stalk of corn,—ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης—to which he refers repeatedly, and remarks that from personal knowledge he can say that a similar rite is performed by the Thracian and the Paeonian women when they sacrifice to Artemis the Queen, making their offering always with the stalk of corn, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης. The stress laid on the stalk of corn suggests the title of Apollo, which was such a favorite name in Thrace for their kings, *Sitalkas*.

[1] 4, 33.

Artemis the Queen, worshipped in the Danubian region and Thrace, is an aspect of the Moon, companion to the Sun, worshipped by Paeonians and Thracians, and in the invocation in the Root-diggers of Sophocles is called Hekate Enodia, "with the holy flame of light as her spear, which she bears riding on high and dwelling on earth at the holy places where the roads meet. She is crowned with oak and with twining coils of poisonous serpents." Her worship was of long duration in the northern lands as her title Queen is found in various inscriptions in Dacia and Moesia,[1] dedications of Roman officials and soldiers under the Empire, to *Diana Regina*. The order in several in which Apollo's name occurs with hers is very significant; i. e. *Dianae et Apolloni*. These divinities of western Thrace appear not only in the region itself but also on altars in Rome of the *equites singulares*, for the most part recruited from the Balkans. Moreover at the Antonine Wall in Scotland Cocceius Firmus dedicated four altars,[2] the second of which is dedicated *Dianae Apolloni*.

If Artemis means "The Slayer," there is an indication of this in Homer,[3] when Hera says that Zeus has made Artemis a lion to women and given her to slay whom of women she will. She slays Laodameia in anger[4] and sometimes alone[5] and sometimes with Apollo[6] comes with gentle weapon and brings painless death to women. Her gold spindle (χρυσηλάκατος) also marks her as goddess of women; maidens before marriage offer in the Artemision in Delos a spindle bound with their hair. The pretty girl-goddess of Homer, who sits on her father's lap and weeps because Hera has struck her behind her ears with her own bow, is far away from the dreadful goddess to whom women pray in fear, who sent the

[1] *C. I. L.* III,[2] 6160; 7447, 8023, 11,086; III, 1003, 7423, 7497.
[2] *C. I. L.* VII, 1111–1114. [3] *Il.* 21, 483–4. [4] *Il.* 6, 205.
[5] *Od.* 11, 199. [6] *Od.* 15, 410 f.

coiling serpents to Admetus' marriage-chamber because he had omitted sacrifice to her at his wedding with Alkestis, and from her upon whose cruel altar in Patrae the wild boar, the deer and fawns, bear and wolf-cubs, and birds were heaped alive and burned, in Pausanias' time.[1] Gods are as men make them and Artemis to whom this toll of living things was paid by the barbarous people of Patrae in the second century after Christ was said by Aeschylus in the great Athenian time to love the tender young of all the beasts and to hate the killer of them.

The goddess of Pherae, Hekate, Brimo, Artemis, shows the awful side of the moon-worship, which in Greece chiefly attached itself to the name of Hekate. That name must be the feminine of Hekatos, the epithet of Apollo, and equivalent to Hekaerge and probably to Hekabe (short in the feminine form for Ἑκήβολος). No doubt that in the savage and primitive time in Greece human sacrifice was offered to gods who became more civilized as their worshippers became more civilized, and were finally thought to have eyes too pure to behold such iniquity. The sacrifice of beasts continued throughout all the centuries of Greek religion, but such a holocaust as that which Pausanias described at Patrae must have been rare even in the worship of the most primitive form of Artemis. In the story of Admetus the king must die or someone must die for him because he has failed to sacrifice to Pheraia.

It can hardly be doubted that the prototype of Pheraia, the Moon-goddess of Pherae, was Artemis Basileia of Paeonia and Thrace, and though she receives the agrarian offerings that are sent also to Apollo in Delos, she may have had the human and animal sacrifice that her sisters Tauropolos in the Crimea and Laphria in Patrae demanded. Pausanias says that he had seen little bear and

[1] Paus. 7, 18, 8.

wolf cubs that rushed from the altar of Laphria at the first scorching of the flame, which were brought back by the priests and cast again upon the fire.

The history of Hekate is a black chapter in human superstition and religion. Her name preserves an earlier meaning of "Far," seen also in Hekatos, perhaps a short form for Hekatebolos, the Far-Shooter and Hekatebeletes, "with the weapon for far darting." Apollo Hekatos and Artemis Hekate are the Sun and the Moon who work from afar. Pausanias says[1] that he saw a shrine of Artemis Pheraia in Sikyon, containing an old wooden statue said to have been brought from Pherae in Thessaly. In Argos, too, was another statue of the same goddess honored, says Pausanias, in the same manner as at Athens and at Sikyon, and also said to have been brought from Pherae.[2]

It has been supposed that the name of the goddess Bendis is translated by βασιλεία, queen, the title of Artemis given by Herodotus. The use of the adjective Pheraia for the name of the dread goddess is another example of the "Thracian" reticence in withholding the actual name of the deity. Even Zeus is sometimes called simply Olympios in the Iliad and Asklepios is called Trikkaios by later worshippers.

Practically all authorities agree in identifying the goddess Pheraia with Bendis, Brimo, Hekate, who is said in one account to be her daughter. The passage describing Hekate in the *Theogony* of Hesiod has many reminiscences of the elemental character of that goddess which suggest her connection with the moon. She is the child of the Star-Goddess, Asteria, and of Perses, the Titan, who may, as Paley suggests, represent the Sun and has a name derived from a root that has the meaning of brightness in it. Her influence over the tides is suggested in the

[1] 2, 23, 5. [2] 2, 10, 7; 2, 23, 5.

prayers offered to her by those who have their business in the waters of the sea.[1] She gives increase to the flocks and herds and Zeus has given her power as Kourotrophos.[2] Brimo is called Kourotrophos by Apollonius Rhodius,[3] in a passage in which Medea after cutting the magic root calls seven times upon Brimo "rearer of youth, Brimo, who walks by night, of the earth-gods, mistress in the world of shades." Aeschylus in the *Suppliants* speaks of Artemis Hekate who watches over the travail of women in childbirth. In the *Xantriae* he calls the moon the child of Leto:—"Neither the sun's ray beholds it nor the starry face of Leto's child."

ἃς οὔτε πέμφιξ ἡλίου προσδέρκεται
οὔτ' ἀστερωπὸν ὄμμα Λητῴας κόρης.

As the other side of Helios is Hades so the counterpart of Selene is Persephone in the underworld. In the *Phoenissae* Euripides calls Hekate "Mistress, child of Leto;" in the *Ion*[4] Enodia is addressed as "Daughter of Demeter, who dost rule the haunting things which come by night." In the *Helen*[5] Hekate has the title φωσφόρος and is entreated to send blessed visions; in the next line she is called Enodia, whereas in I. T. 21 Artemis is φωσφόρος θεός.

It is frequently noted that the first identification of Artemis with the moon is the passage already cited from the *Xantriae* of Aeschylus, and it is argued that as Homer did not know of Artemis as a moon-goddess the conception of a moon-Artemis is late. It is not probable, however, that Aeschylus invented the complex Artemis-Hekate-Selene, for which the passages adduced give evidence. The fragment from the "Root-diggers" of Sophocles, in which the Sun and Hekate are invoked together, where Hekate is certainly the Moon, and the

[1] *Th.*, 440 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, 444 ff. [3] 3, 861. [4] 1048. [5] 579.

passages just mentioned in the plays of Euripides show that the identification was familiar to the dramatic poets of the fifth century, who are evidently writing of religious conceptions current in their time. I mean that it is unlikely that we should find in these poets far-fetched religious ideas and newly invented deities which would find no response in the minds and hearts of the audience. Homer has no goddess Selene, but, as I have said, his Artemis who brings death to women and who is called by Hera "a lion to women," a phrase which is interpreted as referring to the goddess of birth-pangs, has a reminiscence of an elemental deity who is not only Kourotrophos, but directly concerned with reproductive life and with death. And this surely is Hekate, the Moon who works from far, Kourotrophos and ἐνέροις ἄνασσα. The epithet χρυσηλάκατος used of Artemis in Homer probably refers to her as a goddess with the women's emblem, the spindle. The maidens at Delos before their marriage, according to Herodotus[1] laid on the tomb of Hyperborean maidens, Hyperoche and Laodike, in the Artemision, a spindle, bound with their hair. The spindle was perhaps carried in the procession of Artemis in Bithynia. This had been inferred from an episode related of the life of St. Hypatius. That saint was ordered not to go abroad in the land for the space of fifty days, during the *kalathos* of the accursed Artemis. Strong in his faith in Christ he went forth and met a tall woman, who was spinning as she walked and feeding swine. This has been recognized by Usener and others[2] as giving a picture of the Thracian goddess Artemis-Bendis-Kotys, for whom a Bithynian spring month, Bendideios, was named, together with details of the *kalathos* procession in her honor. I have suggested[3] that the tale of the spinning

[1] 4, 34. [2] *Rh. Mus.*, 1895, 141 f.
[3] *T. A. P. A.* XLIII, 1912, pp. 73 ff.

Paeonian girl told by Herodotus, of which Macan writes:[1] "The passage suggests a picture . . . Had the subject been pictorially treated?"—had its origin in reminiscence of such a *kalathos* procession in honor of the northern goddess worshipped by Thracians, Paeonians, Phrygians, Trojans, Mysians, and Bithynians. The same *genre* of tale appears in Nicolaus[2] of Damascus, who tells it of a Thracian woman from "Mysia in Thrace," who is emigrating with her husband to Lydia, and attracts the attention of Alyattes, as she passes the city gate with a jar of water on her head, a distaff and spindle in her hand, and a horse just watered at the spring following her. Both in Herodotus and in Nicolaus the story is told *á propos* of a European settlement in Asia Minor and in Lydia. Strabo tells of strange *kalathoi* of Artemis at the Gygaean Lake near Sardis.

The chief representations of Athena with kalathos and spindle are from the Asiatic coast, for instance on the coins of New Ilium,[3] from the fourth century B. C. down to late imperial times; and Pausanias[4] tells of her statue at Erythrae with the polos on her head and distaff in either hand. The immense number of spinning whorls found at Troy has suggested a dedicatory use of them in the early settlements.[5] Gruppe believes that the conception of Athena as spinning goddess was extended under the influence of Neith, the Egyptian goddess of Sais. She may rather, I think, have got the attribute of the spindle from the goddess of Troy, who whether she was called by the Greeks Artemis, or Leto (both of whom are mentioned by Homer in Apollo's temple in Troy), or Aphrodite, the goddess of Ida, was a goddess of women and akin to Artemis the Queen, the Moon-Goddess of the Balkans, known to the Greeks as Hekate, Brimo, Bendis, and Kotys.

[1] Macan *on Hdt.*, V, 12. [2] *Frag.* 71. [3] H. von Fritze, *Troja und Ilion* II, 510 ff.
[4] VII, 5, 4. [5] Schliemann, *Troja*, 106, 307.

Miss Harrison has pointed out in commenting on the opening lines of the Eumenides of Aeschylus in which the succession at Delphi is given—the first *promantis* Gaia, then Themis, child of Gaia, and then another child of Chthon, the Titan Phoibe—that Phoibe must have been the moon.[1] She quotes Payne[2] on the primitive worship of the moon as follows:—"The worship of the moon precedes that of the sun, because a causation is traced between the lunar phenomena and the food-supply in an earlier stage than that in which a connection is traced between the food-supply and the solar phenomena . . . The approach and duration of the periods in which the different supplies are provided is measured by the successive reappearance and gradual changes of the moon. Hence apparently the savage naturally regards the moon as the cause of these successive supplies of food."

It is not to be wondered at that the moon who sends the dew and marks out the seasons for the flourishing of crops and herds should be a "chthonic" deity and worshipped with *nephalia*. Artemis Basileia was worshipped, it will be remembered, by the Paeonian and Thracian women with offerings of holy things bound up in a stalk of corn. The complex of Earth and Moon worship gave rise to many goddesses, as the well-known Greek tendency was to erect an epithet into a divinity, the origin of which was forgotten. In the Prometheus Bound that hero speaks of his mother first as Chthon, next as Themis and Gaia, "one form of many names." Chthon and Gaia are not differentiated, but the poet makes Themis child of Gaia in the opening lines of the Eumenides. Examples of this multiplying of the elemental deities have been given in the previous discussion. It is especially frequent with sun and moon; the confusion about Hyperion and

[1] *Themis*, p. 390 f. [2] *History of the New World called America*, I, p. 493.

Helios is even found in Homer and the parents of Helios and Selene given by Hesiod, Hyperion and Theia, are obviously epithets of their alleged children.

The name Phoibe has in it the idea of purification as well as of brightness and is appropriate to the moon, which was believed to have a personal influence over women at the seasons of menstruation and child-birth, when ritual purification was necessary. In the Greek islands today, as in the time of Euripides and in centuries uncounted before his time, to touch a woman in child-birth involves a religious pollution.

Iphigenia[1] is bitter enough about the folly of these religious taboos—

"I hate the fine-spun scruples of the goddess, who keeps far from her altar him who has touched a murdered man or laid a finger on the dead or a woman in her travail, holding that man to be polluted, and yet herself takes joy in human sacrifice."

The change from Earth-mother to Moon-mother was a natural concomitant of the association of the phases of the moon with the reproductive life of women, and the ill repute which attached itself to women, the mysterious bearer of children, in the primitive times which had no knowledge of biological laws of reproduction, was shared by the baleful moon-goddess, who had her seasons of helpfulness and her times of hurting. This fear of women has led to various taboos and superstitions which still prevail among simple folk from the Hebrides to the Greek Islands and of course in greater degree, among such tribes as the Todas and the Arruntas. Hesiod

[1] Eur., *I. T.*, ll. 380 ff.:

τὰ τῆς θεοῦ δὲ μέμφομαι σοφίσματα,
ἥτις βροτῶν μὲν ἤν τις ἅψηται φόνου,
ἢ καὶ λοχείας ἢ νεκροῦ θίγῃ χεροῖν,
βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη,
αὐτὴ δὲ θυσίαις ἥδεται βροτοκτόνοις.

has a precept which was sadly misunderstood by the older commentators, in which he forbids a man to cleanse his skin in the bath of a woman. This does not mean, as Goettling thought, that women's baths are warm and effeminating, nor, as Paley thought, are "motives of propriety the ground of the precept," but the precept arises from the primitive fear of pollution from the "bearing" sex, which among many tribes extends to even the sight of a woman or a touch of her garment in passing. That the moon-goddess should become the goddess of child-birth and of women was the natural development and Farnell's argument that *Artemis Locheia* had more affinity with the Earth-goddess than with the moon is fallacious. In primitive tribes women count by the moon the months until the birth of the child and this direct connection with reproductive life inevitably led among the Greeks to the conception of a lunar woman-goddess. *Eileithuia* is the abstraction of the completion of the time of the mother's carrying the child within her and the arrival of the time of the birth-pangs. To this potency of the birth-goddess as well as to the other powers of this woman-goddess the name Hekate, she who works from afar, is peculiarly appropriate.

It was inevitable that the worships of Hekate and of Artemis should develop unevenly and that one of them should reach a higher level of religious purity and ethical meaning than the other. Two names of the deity, unless they are absolutely bound to the one meaning, as for instance Gaia and Chthon, which are used without differentiation for the Earth-goddess, will diverge and emphasize different aspects of the deity, until in the end the identity is neglected and forgotten. It is not likely that the primitive worship of Artemis was at all more noble than that of Hekate, but the tribes that worshipped Artemis raised her conception to a beauty which

contrasts with the baleful aspects of Hekate's cult. It savors of old-fashioned theology and the doctrine of original sin to write of the "original taint" attaching to the cult of Hekate which "must have been there from the beginning and could not have come from the association of her worship with that of Artemis and Persephone."[1] To argue thus is to ignore the evolution of religious conceptions and the moralization of deity. Gods "are as the circle of their worshippers" and grow in grace and spirituality as their worshippers advance in civilization and enlarge their intellects. A good commentary on the difference between the worship of Artemis in its higher forms and that of Artemis Hekate in its baser aspects is found in an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* of May 25, 1923, with reference to a trial for murder by a British court of an African chief and six other natives in Southern Rhodesia for the murder of a young man, a chief's son, whom they are said to have burnt alive in order to induce an offended deity to put an end to a punitive drought. The writer of the leading article says most truly—"There is no real break in the procession. Central Africans, who kill a man or woman in order to get rain to fall are, in a quite direct and continuous line, predecessors of the most advanced scientific meteorologists of today. The savage is making some of the first and rudest of scientific experiments . . . One of the genuine 'problems of empire,' in such an empire as ours, is to take up a just and intelligent attitude toward practices which among civilized peoples would now be mere murder complicated with degenerate superstition, but which among primitive peoples are more like the unconscious barbarities of a baby which is only beginning to feel its way toward a proper relation with the household cat. We have to stop suttee and rain sacrifices, wherever

[1] Farnell, *Cults*, II, p. 505, 518 f.

we go, but it takes skill to stop them intelligently—that is, so that the native mind is helped to outgrow its attachment to them, and not merely led to suppose that we are a queer people who do not understand about widows or rain."

The Hekate worshippers who indulged in practices of black magic and the rites of Bendis and Brimo, which were full of "indecent" methods of procuring rain and fertile fields, were also exercising the "science" which was theirs. And it is to misread the history of the development of religion and of science to believe in an original taint attaching to any one deity in the primitive minds which tried to compel or coax their gods to give them their daily bread by methods which to them were "sacred." Hekate, Bendis, and Brimo remained on a low level because they were worshipped by Thrako-Phrygian tribes in the rude Danubian regions, in the Troad, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Bithynia, Caria, Lykia and Pamphylia, while the goddess who was their sister, or rather one with them, Artemis Basileia, moon-goddess and goddess of the fields and flocks and of reproductive human life, as they were, reached a beauty in Greek art and literature only because the tribes from the north who worshipped her in Greece themselves attained beauty in the intellectual expression of their religious ideas, in that great fusion of races which produced the Hellenic deities as we know them from Homer's time on.

Both Homer and Hesiod measure their time by the moon in its waxing and its waning and Hesiod has the threefold division which is familiar from the later calendars into μὴν ἱστάμενος, μὴν μεσῶν and μὴν φθίνων. The precepts about the days in Hesiod[1] is a statement of the greatest value, showing the point which the observation of the phases of the moon and their supposed effect

[1] *Works and Days*, 765 ff.

on human affairs had reached in the "science" of days lucky and unlucky, "one a mother and one a stepmother." Pliny writes about the effect of the moon's phases on different activities of men and the superstition of today preserves many of the beliefs that prevailed in the earliest times in which men began to note the difference in the dew and other phenomena between bright moonlight nights and the times of her obscuration. Alkman[1] writes of "the dew that is son of moon and air (which) makes the deergrass to grow."

The earliest passage in which Hekate is mentioned is the well-known description in Hesiod's Theogony.[2] Here the goddess is a patron of the activities of mortals and her power and prerogative are in earth and heaven and sea. She is a descendant of Phoibe, whom Miss Harrison has shown to be the Moon-Goddess, successor of Gaia at Delphi, and her mother is the goddess of stars, a personification of the starry heaven. Hekate is a double of her grandmother Phoibe and her epithet "only begotten" perhaps refers to the one moon among the stars,—"at whose sight all the stars hide their diminished heads."

"The stars about the lovely moon hide their bright beauty when she at her full floods the earth with silver light."

Ἄστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν
ἄψ ἀποκρύπτοισι φάεννον εἶδος
ὅππότα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπησ'
ἀργυρία γᾶν.[3]

Catullus is "late" authority, but he has interpreted this complex goddess "of many names" not only as she was worshipped in his time, but in the aspects that were hers when Gaia and Themis and Phoibe were worshipped as *kourotrophoi* and givers of good to men. The later Artemis is greeted in the lovely verses—

[1] *Lyra Graeca*, Edmonds, I. p. 49, pp. 84–85. [2] *Theog.* 404 ff.
[3] *Lyra Graeca*, I. Sappho, *frag.*, 3.

Montium domina ut fores
Silvarumque virentium
Saltuumque reconditorum
Amniumque sonantum.

But the essence of the complex of the Earth-Moon-goddess is found in the lines that follow:—

Tu Lucina dolentibus
Juno dicta puerperis
Tu potens Trivia et notho es
Dicta lumine Luna.

Tu cursu, Dea, menstruo
Metiens iter annuum,
Rustica agricolae bonis
Tecta frugibus exples.

Sis quocumque placet tibi
Sancta nomine, Romulique
Antiquam, ut solita es, bona
Sospites ope gentem.

The moon has two names, μήνη and σελήνη, one of which has been interpreted as The Measurer and the other beyond a doubt is connected with σέλας and means The Shining One. Phoibe, Pasiphae, Hekaerge, Hekate, Aigle, Antiope, Agriope, Argiope, Koronis—these are some of the epithets of the moon that, connoting different aspects of her in either a physical or a psychological conception, developed into deities or heroines. Three names of heroines of the north which are the most famous in Greek poetry have a form and meaning that have suggested that they were originally epithets and ritual names of deity. They are Eurydice, Laodameia, and Alkestis. The Macedonians and Epirotes had the fashion of pre-

serving for their kings the sacred names which suggested the divine power of the monarchs—Alexandros, Amynandros, etc. In the same way the name Eurydice was a favorite with Macedonian queens and was adopted by several who had other names. The word belongs like Kreousa, Eurykreousa, Medusa, etc., to the same domain as the title *Basileia*, which is thought to be a translation of Bendis. Miss Harrison calls the Eurydice myth "a piece of theology," which she says is taken over from Dionysus and the "anodos" of Semele. In what appears to be the first version of the tale Orpheus brings up, perhaps successfully, Agriope or Argiope, whose names are moon-epithets like that of Antiope, who, as early as the eighth century, is mentioned as wife of Helios. Antiope is "a highly suitable appellation for the full moon which at its rising exactly faces the sun."[1] The name Orpheus has its most obvious connection with ὄρφνη, the darkness of night, and it may, like Hades, denote the dark side or absence of Helios. If the first wife of Orpheus, Agriope or Argiope, was a moon-epithet developed into a heroine, as seems probable from the form of her name, it is likely that the name Eurydice is of the same type, that is, the name of a deity such as Gaia or Selene, whose name and personality retreat as the myths are gradually evolved from falsely interpreted natural phenomena, or from ritual, and the leading parts in the story are taken by the new gods who were at first only aspects of the old. Now Agriope or Argiope can hardly have been other than a moon-epithet, but with Eurydice there is the likelihood of contamination with the Persephone myth. Persephone apparently means Slayer in Brightness and suggests the function of Artemis who slays with gentle weapons. The name Persephone was one men feared to utter, according to Plato.[2] As Hades is "the dark side of Helios" so

[1] Cook, *Zeus*, p. 738. [2] *Crat.*, 404, 4, D.

Persephone is the counterpart in the world of shadows to Selene in the heaven and Hekate-Enodia is the conception that links the queen of Hades with the bride of Helios. This is beyond question true for the poets of the fifth century, as the passages already quoted from Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides show, and it is not likely, as I have said, that these poets devised the correlation; rather, reflecting deep-lying religious ideas, they give us glimpses of conceptions that go far back of the Homeric poems, though these conceptions appear in the Iliad and Odyssey only now and again in some ritual epithet, or phrase that is out of keeping with the rest of the Homeric picture of the deity in question. Some titles, perhaps misunderstood or only vaguely comprehended by the bards, betray conceptions that are habitually disregarded in the picture of the gods of Olympus which Homer gives; for example the epithets of Hermes, διάκτορος ἀργεϊφόντης.

Gaia, Themis, Phoibe—Earth, Law, and the Measuring One in the heavens, Mene, who also like her brother or lover the Sun purifies, and is holy Phoibe to match his Phoibos—this is the complex that was worshipped as Artemis Basileia in Thrace and Paeonia and as Pheraia-Hekate in Thessaly.

Alkestis also has a name of power from the apotropaic verb ἀλαλκεῖν and must have been worshipped at Pherae, as Professor Thomson notes in his chapter in *The Greek Tradition* on "Alkestis and her Hero." The passage which he quotes from the play of Euripides points to a moon-worship:

> "Minstrels many shall praise thy name
> With lyre full-strung and with voices lyreless,
> When Mid-Moon riseth, an orbéd flame
> And from dusk to dawning the dance is tireless.

And Carnos cometh to Sparta's call,
And Athens shineth in festival;
For thy death is a song and a fullness of fame,
Till the heart of the singer is left desireless."

I also quote what Professor Thomson says of the Tomb of Alkestis and the worship there:—

"That it (i. e. the tomb) existed in Euripides' time and was regarded as a holy monument, is implied in the following words of the chorus—

'Let not the earth that lies upon her
Be deemed a grave-mound of the dead.
Let honour, as the gods have honour
Be hers, till men shall bow the head,
And strangers climbing from the city
Her slanting path, shall muse and say:
"This woman died to save her lover
And liveth blest, the stars above her.
Hail, Holy One, and grant thy pity!"
So pass the wondering words away.'

" 'Now is she a blessed spirit' or Daemon; surely that is clear enough. She must have been worshipped. That her cult was connected with the great prehistoric tomb on the road to Larissa is certain both from the nature of her legend (a death and resurrection myth) and from what Euripides says."

Professor Thomson discusses the bridegroom of Alkestis as an aspect of the "Unsubdued" god of the dead. I have already spoken of the names of the God Invisible in the chapter which discusses Helios Hades and Poseidon Hades. Following the suggestion with regard to Alkestis, the Powerful One, made in the essay from which I have been quoting, I would ascribe the stories of death and resurrection in which the theme is the parting of

husband and wife, followed by a partial or complete restoration of the one who has died, to an old and widely spread conception of the union and parting of the Sun and the Moon. Proclus says[1] that the Athenians chose the time of the new moon for the celebration of marriage and the celebration of the "theogamia," as they considered that this was the time when the "Moon was going to her marriage with the Sun." "The Moon herself," Plutarch says, "revolves in love of the Sun and desiring ever to wed with him." To the union of the heavenly bride and bridegroom Frazer ascribes the founding of the Olympic games and Cornford adds much in further evidence in the sixth chapter of *Themis*. In the *Suppliants* the σύνοδος of sun and moon is given as good omen for the marriage of Evadne.[2]

In a Roumanian folk-song there is preserved the myth of the love and longing of the Sun for his sister and their parting:—

"Helen of the long gold hair
And thou Sun so shining fair,
Thou who from all sin art pure,
Sun and Moon, ye are condemned
While my heavens shall endure,
Till eternity shall end,
To seek each other through the skies,
Following with yearning eyes,
Never having power to meet
On the high celestial street,
Only following endlessly,
Lifted over land and sea,
Wandering heaven day and night,
Filling all the world with light."[3]

[1] *On Hesiod, Works and Days*, 5, 280.
[2] *Suppliants*, 990 ff.
[3] Jewett, *Folk Ballads of Southern Europe*, 29.

It is the Christian Lord God who in this song condemns the Sun and Moon to pine forever, but the myth of it has a long descent and its source is in the ancient Balkan and Hellenic belief in the relations, first fraternal and afterward nuptial, of the Sun and the Moon.

Another song[1] from the Balkans preserves the marriage myth:—

"You see I know all the white moon's dark secrets.
It is she herself that kills the Sun
And on the sky her knife is bloody
But the sun rises from his tomb
And every night she has to kill again.

But the sun rises every morning from his red tomb,
Now truly I have heard a strange thing, my fair husband,
The moon still loves the sun and they are wedded.
They have a marriage ring—
It is made of the gold of the sun and the silver of the moon
Exactly like our own!"

Laodameia also, who uses magic arts to bring her husband back for a brief space, according to the version of the tale used by Euripides, has a myth which developed under the same influence of belief and ritual as those of Eurydice and Alkestis. Her husband, Protesilaos, was a fertility-daemon worshipped at Phylake and her name is one of the potent appellations which in the first instance belong to deity. Romance develops from ritual, but by slow degrees; in Homer the only one of the three tales which is mentioned is that of Laodameia, and her recovery of her husband for a brief space is either ignored or unknown to the poet. Protesilaos is the first of the Greeks to be slain, as he leaps ashore, and his slayer is a Dar-

[1] *Ibid.*, 271–272.

danian. He leaves his house "half-complete," ἡμιτελής. Laodameia in Euripides' play "Protesilaos" makes use of a wooden or waxen image of her husband to bring him back to life. Such sympathetic magic is employed by Simaetha in the Theocritean idyll in her attempt to bring her lover back to her and she prays all the while to the moon to aid her.

Earth is fertilized by Sky, we read in Hesiod, but it is the Sun and Moon who preside over human marriages, whose worship gives rise to stories of love and parting. No one would be so foolish as to ascribe all early Greek romance to this origin. Hector and Andromache are husband and wife with no penumbra of ritual or religion about their beautiful humanity, but Eurydice, Alkestis, and Laodameia[1] have not wholly detached themselves from the theology out of which they grew. Hermes of the Earth, whose worship was strong in Thessaly and at Pherae, appears on the slab on which the parting of Eurydice and Orpheus is depicted; Herakles the Sun-God restores Alkestis to Admetus; and Laodameia herself is potent to prevail with the gods of the lower world to restore Protesilaos. The *anagoge* motif is evidently an outgrowth of religion, but when Hector falls, there is no thought in Homer of bringing him back to Andromache. Sun and Moon worship of the Balkan and Thessalian type is unknown to Homer, who, in the Iliad at least, has only a trace of such religion as traffics with the dead, as at Pherae.

These tales, though elaborated by poets in an age later than Homer's by centuries, contain elements that belong to an older stratum of religion than the anthropomorphism that prevails in the Iliad and the Odyssey; one that lingers in the Greek consciousness always and comes to

[1] "Moon elements are found in nearly all goddesses and many heroines; in Athena, Artemis, Hekate, Persephone, Bendis; in Antiope, Europa, Pasiphae, Auge, and a host of others." Harrison, *Themis*, p. 392, n. 2.

light in art and literature of the later Hellenic centuries. The worship of Artemis the Queen, Earth-goddess and Moon-goddess, Gaia and Phoibe, was softened into the girl huntress, leader of the nymphs and most beautiful of them, who in Homer is devoid of the terrors that are attached to the forms of her that were called Bendis and Hekate. From other of her names were developed the romantic heroines Alkestis, Laodameia, and Eurydice.

CHAPTER X

LETO

"The moon walks on the leaves and walks so lightly
That not one leaf is stirred.
The stars are dead because the moon has killed them,
And yet she smiles, the murderous moon."

—Roumanian Folk-Song.

"The stars about the lovely moon hide their bright beauty when she at the full floods the earth with silver light."

—Sappho.

THIS goddess, "mild to men and to immortals, ever sweet and kind,"[1] is in the Iliad an adherent of the Trojans, who are so beloved by her son Apollo. She is the mother of Artemis and her activity in the poem is always concerned with her daughter. She and Artemis together heal the wound of Aeneas in the Trojan temple of Apollo; she gathers up the bow and arrows of her daughter after the girl has been sent reeling from the contest with Hera by the blows struck at her by that goddess in the Battle of the Gods in the twenty-first book. Hermes, courteous and witty, allows Leto who has been appointed as his opponent, to leave the fight without contesting it. He utters a charming *bon mot* about the fighting power of wives of Zeus, and the bad policy of exchanging blows with them, evidently alluding to the violence with which Hera has just attacked the "kore" of Leto. Then Leto follows Artemis to heaven, where the daughter in the presence of the silent wife, with tears and sitting on her father's lap, tells

[1] *Theogony*, 415.

him of the beating that she has received from his chief wife. In the fifth book, which has so many points in common with the twentieth and twenty-first, another wife of Zeus, Dione, still more shadowy in the Iliad than Leto, comforts her "kore," Aphrodite, asking the same questions about her suffering that Zeus in the later book asks of the "kore" of Leto.

These two pairs of mother and daughter are examples of the two-fold form of the goddess-mother. Dione and Leto both belong to the Earth-mother-complex; and their tenderness to their respective "korai" is the same as that love of the mother for the daughter that became the heart of the conception of the Earth-goddess, Gaia or Chthon, in the form of Demeter. Themis was a daughter of Gaia and Phoibe is called a daughter of Chthon. This daughter of Earth, Phoibe, has been recognized by Miss Harrison as the Moon.[1] Her daughter Leto's son, Apollo, received from his mother's mother the oracular seat as his birth gift and has also her name.

The name of Leto deserves careful consideration. It has been recognized of late as a short, caressing form of a longer name, but the fact that that longer name is to be found in the Latin form Latona, has, so far as I am aware, escaped notice. The prevailing view is that taken by Lindsay[2] and Kretschmer[3]—that Latona is a form lengthened by the Italians from the Doric form Λατώ. The forms Λατώ and Λητώ are both, however, shortened forms, *hypocoristica*. In the case of the similar form Dione the characteristically North Greek ending of her name and of her seat of worship, Δωδώνη, has been discussed by A. B. Cook.[4] Moreover, Crusius, Kretschmer, and recently Arkwright have written about the Thracian, Phrygian and Illyrian affiliations of the names in -ωνη and -ων. Such names are exceedingly

[1] *Themis*, 386–87. [2] *Latin Language*, p. 349. [3] *Einleitung*, 256. [4] *C. R.*, 1903, p. 179.

frequent in Illyrian; Kretschmer instances Scardona, Narona, Avlona, Aenona, Blandona, Pronona, Flanona, Aulona. Dodona he counts as Greek, but says that the further back we penetrate into the dim past, the less sharp we find the distinction between the tribes. So whether Dodona be counted as Illyrian or as Greek, it is clear that the form Δωδώ, quoted from Simmias of Rhodes by Stephen of Byzantium, is a caressing form of Δωδώνη.

It lies near, then, to trace the short form of the name of the goddess, so closely related to Dione, and like Dione, already in Homer, fading before the glory of her "kore," to a similar form, which actually exists in the Latin, and to regard the name of the goddess Latona-Leto as an Illyrian or North Greek formation. In favor of this is the close relation between Dione and Leto in genealogy and the fact that both represent an aspect of their respective mothers, Dione of Gaia, and Leto of Phoibe. The *Etymologicum Magnum* says that Dione is the same as the earth and derives her name from διαίνεσθαι, in the sense of the earth drenched by rains. Dione was a "wet," if not a water-goddess and the Zeus worshipped with her at Dodona was also probably a god of wetness, νάϊος[1]. Whether Dione has her name directly from the root seen in forms of her husband's name, or from the same root independently, she is of the sky as well as of the earth, and Phoibe, the bright aspect of the moon, has a function as giver of dews that brings her into the complex of fertility goddesses. Her daughter Leto is called black-robed by Hesiod and if this is a significant epithet it refers either to the obscuration of Phoibe—

"si certo tempore luna
gignitur et certo deletur tempore rursus—"

[1] Soph., *frag.* 417, Nauck; 458, Pearson (*cf.* note on meaning). Δωδῶνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁ νάϊος βροτῶν. Cf. Tarn, *op. cit.*, 176.

or to the black birth-pangs.[1] The name Leto may come, as many have thought, from the verb *lateo*, λανθάνω, or it may be from that root seen in (*de*) *leo* and *letum*. In any case the name is significant of the darkness of the obscured moon and symbolically of the black pain suffered by a woman to whom Eileithuia, her "hour," has come.

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ὠδίνουσαν ἔχῃ βέλος ὀξὺ γυναῖκα,
δριμύ, τό τε προΐεῖσι μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι,
Ἥρης θυγατέρες πικρὰς ὠδῖνας ἔχουσαι,[2]

The primitive woman believes that the moon works in her body and reckons by the moon the coming of her travail. The goddess Leto has a caressing name of the type used to propitiate deities who are stern and austere, as well as for invoking a deity of healing. So we have Loxo, a birth-goddess, Eleutho, Io, Akeso, and others of this kind. The epithets of Leto, ἤπιος and μειλίχιος, also suggest studied propitiation of a feared deity; as, e.g., night, the time of darkness, is called εὐφρόνη, to avert its terrors, and as the goddess who is the personification of the birth-pangs is called εὐκολίνη as a charm against her evil pains.[3]

Preller and Robert[4] speak of the receding of the cult of Leto in Boeotia before that of Hera. The story that Leto came from the Hyperboreans probably mirrors the northern origin of the cult and its coming to Greece and Asia Minor. The town of Lete in Macedonia, whose coins[5] show a great survival of fertility-magic in their "obscene" types, had a shrine of Leto, from which Stephen of Byzantium says their town was named. The connection of the name of the town with that of the goddess remains obscure.

[1] *Lucr.*, 5, 748. *Cf.* μελαινέων — ὀδυνάων, *Iliad* 4, 117.
[2] *Il.* 11, 270 ff. [3] *Cf.* Baur, *Eileithyia*, p. 87.
[4] Robert, *Griech. Heldensage* (1920), p. 185.
[5] Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 197–8.

Poulsen[1] has recently revived the suggestion of Wilamowitz[2] that Leto is the Greek form of the Lykian word "Lada," signifying woman. This derivation ignores the fact that Leto is of the caressing type, as Wernicke and Preller have recognized it to be, and further it is psychologically unlikely that a goddess who belongs to the complex of the fructifying earth and measuring moon, that governs in the primitive thought the rhythm of the woman's life, should be called originally simply "Woman." The point in favor of the Lykian origin for the name Leto made by Poulsen, that the matronymic Letoides[3] is sometimes used for Apollo in accordance with the matriarchal system of Lykia, is answered by a consideration of Miss Harrison's page about the succession at Delphi, which derives from Gaia and in the female line, through Phoibe and Leto. Leto is an important link in that chain—Earth, Bright Moon, Dark Moon, Sun.

There can be no doubt that aspects of Leto and Artemis are, as women-goddesses, "hypostases" or projections of the labor-pangs, whose coming is measured by the Moon, who in her darker aspect as slayer has sent the anguished hour to women. So Leto is kourotrophos, as all the earth-moon goddesses are, and is invoked to give fine children.

Λατὼ μὲν δοίη, Λατὼ κουροτρόφος ὔμμιν
εὐτεκνίαν, Κύπρις δέ, θεὰ Κύπρις ἶσον ἔρασθαι.[4]

And Artemis, even in Heaven, is "a lion to women."

Other epithets and names of this woman-goddess made a proliferation of kindred deities, such as Hekate, Eileithuia, Bendis, Pheraia. Alike in their origin they fared according to the development which artists and poets gave or withheld; so we find one great in cult which has

[1] *Delphi*, p. 2. [2] *Hermes* (1903), p. 595.

[3] For matronymics in the poems of Hesiod and in Locris, see Oldfather, *Philological Quarterly*, 1924, Vol. III, pp. 7, 8.

[4] Theoc. 18, 50 f.

few noble representations in art or song, and another, such as Artemis, the greatest finally of them, becoming a figure which is remote from the conception from which she sprang. An examination of cult and worship reveals the old Earth-Moon-Goddess behind them all.

Leto becomes the mother of Apollo, as Dione becomes the mother of Aphrodite, and Demeter the mother of Persephone. The Sun and the Moon are sometimes brother and sister, sometimes husband and wife. A far-off development of the Sun and Moon myths made the moon aspect, Leto, the mother of the shining and purifying Sun, Phoibos Apollo, grandson of Earth's daughter, Phoibe. Thus Apollo was descended from both the bright and the dark moon.

Equatorial French Africa—among many other places—still cherishes the primitive ideas about a relation between the sun and the moon analogous to those from which the sun and moon worship among the Greeks developed, the final form of which were the myths of Apollo and Artemis and Leto.

"And . . . Ipeu's power is greater than Lolo's . . . and although she compels him to flee when evening comes, . . . she hides from him when he is burning the plain."[1]

[1] *Batouala*, by R. Maran (1923).

CHAPTER XI

SPINNERS OF PIERIA

"Munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est,
Pan, deus Arcadiae, captam te, Luna, fefellit."

AMONG the Todas[1] the three emblems of womanhood are the pounder, the sieve, and the sweeper: emblems so potent that the taboo upon the hut containing a woman, into which an unclean person may not enter, may be removed by taking these objects from the dwelling. The woman-symbol among the Greeks and early Italians was the spindle, which appears as an attribute of female deity on coins and statues. Maidens offered in the Artemision at Delos a spindle wound with their hair at the tomb of the messengers who brought the cereal offerings from the Hyperboreans. These messengers, Laodike, Hyperoche, Opis, Loxo, and Hekaerge, have names that are all cult titles of the Moon-Artemis, goddess of child-birth, and the spindle was an offering at wedding. The magic power which was early ascribed to the reproductive sex was transferred to her characteristic implement and to the flocks of wool used for spinning, which had, Pliny says, a religious value—"religiosam auctoritatem."[2] The power of the spindle over agriculture led the rural inhabitants of Italy to pass a law forbidding women as they walked along the roads between farms to turn their spindles in their hands, or to carry spindles uncovered, since it was believed that the instrument was inimical to the crops, especially to the corn. Mannhardt gives examples of ceremonies in the reproductive magic of

[1] Marett, *Anthropology*, p. 219. [2] *N.H.*, 29, 30.

vegetation celebrated in the Frankenwald and other places in Germany, which ascribe potency to spinning—for example three handfuls of flax are left on the fields for the "Holzweibel," and wool is taken to the fields for the "Hollen" to spin.

It is to this stratum of ideas that I have assigned[1] the Macedonian Klodones and Mimallones, whose names had been unexplained. To them I would now add the Xantriae, who give a name to a play by Aeschylus, and the Lenae. All of these are Dionysiac ministrants. For the Klodones the chief authorities are Polyaenus and Plutarch, the former of whom tells[2] of Argaios, king of Macedon, who, when outnumbered by the invading Taulantii under their king Galauros, commanded the "maidens of the Macedonians" to manifest themselves (ἐπιφανῆναι) from the mountain of Ereboeia. They appeared (ἐπεφάνησαν) in numbers and descended from the height, maidens swinging their *thyrsi* instead of spears and hiding their faces with garlands. When they had routed the enemy and Argaios had won a victory without striking a blow, that king in thankfulness set up an altar to Dionysus Pseudanor and changed the name of the maidens from the hills to Mimallones instead of their former title, Klodones, because they had imitated the valor of men: διὰ τὴν μίμησιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. This derivation is obviously worthless. It is clear, I think, that the word Klodones is derived from κλώθω, to spin, and that is the same word as the Homeric κλῶθες, the Spinners, who spin the thread of fate for a man, when he is born.

> πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ αἶσα κατὰ κλῶθές τε βαρεῖαι
> γεινομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.[3]

Klodones shows the Macedonian substitution of the middle mute for the aspirate and the northern tendency

[1] *C.R.*, 1913, pp. 191–92. [2] *Strat.*, 4, 1. [3] *Od.* 7, 197.

to use the ending -ων, but the root is the same as that seen in κλῶθες, and the personification of the female symbolic act is evident in both words. In Hesiod but one Fate is named the Spinner and two others, the Allotter and the Inexorable, are added:—

Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἵτε βροτοῖσι
γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,[1]

The other name for these followers of Dionysus, Mimallones, comes from μαλλός, a flock of wool. This derivation was suggested by Tümpel, but wrongly interpreted by him; he thought μαλλός meant the long hair of the Maenads. The passage on which he relies for this meaning is one in the Bacchants, in which the roe-skins covered with tufts of wool are the garb of the throng of women-worshippers, who have come from their spinning and are led by Bacchus from hill to hill.

στικτῶν τ' ἐνδυτὰ νεβρίδων
στέφετε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμων
μαλλοῖς. ἀμφὶ δὲ νάρθηκας ὑβριστὰς
ὁσιοῦσθ.' αὐτίκα γᾶ πᾶσα χορεύσει.[2]

Tümpel's explanation of μαλλός in this passage as κεχυμέναι τὰς τρίχας is clearly impossible. The word στέφετε, adorn or crown, is not the word for loosing of hair, and another fatal objection is the color λευκός. The epithet λευκός is never used to describe human hair; it describes shining white skin and the fleece of sheep,[3] e.g. in Iliad III, 103—

οἵσετε δ' ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἑτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν.

And horses are frequently λευκοί. The word πλοκάμων has caused discussion and a plausible emendation by Reiske is ποκάδων, which means the sheared wool. The

[1] *Theog.*, 218 ff., 908 f. [2] Eur. *Bacch.* 111 ff.
[3] *Cf.* Strabo, p. 784: πρόβατα λευκότριχα.

word μαλλός is employed by Aeschylus in the sense of the ritual tuft of wool in the *Eumenides*:[1]

ἔχοντ' ἐλαίας θ' ὑψιγέννητον κλάδον,
λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον,
ἀργῆτι μαλλῷ. τῇδε γὰρ τρανῶς ἐρῶ.

The cult of Dionysus Pseudanor mentioned by Polyaenus in connection with the Dionysiac maidens called Klodones and Mimallones has been recognized as a means of encouraging vegetation by the female garb of the priest, which brought with it the female power; the god himself who was expected to perform vegetation-magic being thought of as wearing a dress appropriate to a woman.[2] The trailing robe of the god from which his followers, the Bassarids, got their name was originally the woman's dress used in the vegetation rites. The *Etymologicum Magnum* defines βασσάραι as robes which the Thracian Bacchants wore, so named from Dionysus Bassareus. They were of gay colors and reached to the feet. The word is cited from the *Edonians* of Aeschylus.

It was in Pieria, the home of the southern Paeonians, that these vegetation rites developed into the Dionysiac religion, destined to blossom in Greek art and poetry.

"Blessed land of Pierie
Dionysus loveth thee;
He will come to thee with dancing
Come with joy and mystery;
With the Maenads at his hest
Winding, winding to the West;
Cross the flood of swiftly glancing
Axios in majesty;

[1] 45 f. Here ἀργῆτι = λευκοτρίχων in the Bacchants; both mean silvery or gleaming.
[2] Farnell, *Cults*, V. 160 f. *Cf.* Payne E. J., *op. cit.* II, 7—"Primitive man refuses to interfere in agriculture; he thinks it magically dependant for success on women and connected with child-bearing."

Cross the Lydias the giver
Of good gifts and waving green;
Cross that Father-Stream of story.
Through a land of steeds and glory
Rolling, bravest, fairest River
E'er of mortals seen!"

Plutarch speaks of the Thracian character of the worship of Dionysus by his Klodones and Mimallones. "All the women of this region from early times were under the influence of the Orphic rites and the Dionysiac religion and have customs similar to those of the Thracian women near Mount Haemus and the Edonian women. They have the names Klodones and Mimallones."[1]

The Mimallones are mentioned with the Bassarids and Maenads in the lines supposed to be Nero's in Persius, 1, 99 ff.

"Torve Mimalloneis implerant cornua bombis
et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassaris, et lyncem Maenas flexura corymbis
Euion ingeminant."

Xantriae

The title of the play by Aeschylus which has the fate of Pentheus for its theme has been interpreted both as "Slayers"—because of the phrase used in describing the death of Pentheus in the picture of Philostratus[2]—ξαίνουσι τὸ θήραμα, "they tear the prey asunder," and as "Wool-Carders," its natural significance. Sandys[3] suggests that in the development of the plot of the *Xantriae* "the chorus may possibly have consisted of the sober and stay-at-home women, who went on working their wool instead of joining the revels on the hills." It is difficult to see how the action of the play could have been carried on with such a chorus and if my interpreta-

[1] Plut., *Alex.*, 2, 5. [2] Εἰκόνες, I, 18, p. 394. [3] Sandys, *Eur. Bacch.*, p. XXVII.

tion of klodones and mimallones is right, xantriae naturally belongs to the same order of "religious" ideas and is another name for the female ministrants of Dionysus.

There can hardly be a doubt that Philostratus had the play of Aeschylus in mind when he composed his picture of the death of Pentheus; Aeschylus may well have used the word himself in one of those terrible images and suggested double meanings of which the *Agamemnon* has so many magnificent examples, especially in the speeches of Clytaemnestra.

Lenae

A very old name for the female followers of Dionysus is Lenae. The Lenae are often mentioned among the ministrants of the god and a verb ληναΐζω is found in a fragment of Heracleitus.[1] A title, Leader of the Lenae, appears in an inscription of a small limestone altar from Halicarnassus; and Strabo,[2] writing of the gods in whose ritual dance and song of an orgiastic or mystic character appear, says that the devotees of Dionysus are Sileni, and Satyrs and Tityri and Bacchae, Lenae and Thyiae, and Mimallones, and Naiads and Nymphs.

It was from this word that Ribbeck derived the title of Dionysus Lenaios, as well as the name of the festival Lenaia, which was celebrated in the Attic month Gamelion. This derivation has been accepted by recent scholars, who perceive the difficulty of forming Λήναια from ληνός, a wine-press. "Recent discussion has made it clear that the names Lenaion, Lenaia, Lenaios, are derived—as Ribbeck suggested—from lenai, the 'wild women' or Maenads of Dionysus." A. B. Cook, from whose discussion of the Origin of Attic Tragedy I have quoted this statement of the prevailing view of the title Lenaios, gives the ancient authorities for the occurrence of the word *lenai* in a foot-note on page 667 of *Zeus*.

[1] *Frag.* 127, Bywater. [2] Strab., 468.

As the connection of the names of the klodones and mimallones with the use of wool in vegetation rites has escaped observation, so no one has suggested that λήνη[1] is the same as Latin *lana* and therefore belongs to the same order of primitive thought as that which believed that the use of the spindle or the leaving of wool and flax on the fields had influence over the crops. It can hardly be fortuitous that we find in the service of the vegetation-god ministrants who have the names Spinners, Wool-Women, and Carders. The *lenae*, I believe, have a name connected not only with Latin *lana*, but also with the sacred old word λῆνος used in the passage already quoted from the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, where λήνει μεγίστῳ is explained in the following line by the word from which Mimallones is derived, ἀργῆτι μαλλῷ.

Wool was a sacred and magic thing among the Romans. The bride[2] on arriving at her new home wound the door-posts with fillets of wool, and a distaff wound with wool, a spindle and yarn[3] were carried behind her on her way thither. Pliny preserves extraordinary beliefs and superstitions about the use and efficacy of wool in medicine and the danger to the crops from the passing of a spinning woman. Fillets of wool were worn by the priests and the victim for the sacrifice in both Greek and Roman religious rites; the earliest mention of such fillets is the description of the coming of the priest Chryses to the Greek camp in the beginning of the Iliad, "having the fillets of the far-darting Apollo wound about his gold staff."

In Nillson's discussion of the Lenaia[4] he says of λήνη that, as the word occurs outside of the Ionian territory

[1] This connection was suggested to me by Professor J. A. K. Thomson.

[2] Pliny, *N.H.*, 29, 30: "lanis auctoritatem veteres Romani etiam religiosam habuere, postes a nubentibus attingi iubentes."

[3] *Ibid.*, 8, 194: "inde factum ut nubentes virgines comitaretur colus compta et fusus cum stamine."

[4] *Griech. Fest.*, 278 ff.

in the same form, it must originally have had *ē*. In proof of this he quotes the gloss of Hesychius, λῆναι, βάκχαι, οἱ Ἀρκάδες; the name Λήνα from two Ambraciot gravestones and title of the Theocritean poem Λῆναὶ ἢ Βάκχαι. He is arguing that if the λῆναι had belonged to the god of the wine-press they would have been called λᾶναι in non-Ionian Greek. His argument is equally effective against my equating the form λήνη with Latin *lana*. It is entirely reasonable, however, to hold that the old-fashioned word had its original meaning and form obscured in the development of the Dionysiac worship so that the form fixed in some old Ionian source clung to it. There can be no doubt that the absolutely rare old word λῆνος, used and explained by Aeschylus, is cognate with Latin *lana*. And in view of the very scanty evidence about the non-Ionian form of λήνη, I assume that these followers of Bacchus derived their name from the ritual use of wool, in simple vegetation ceremonies, which later developed into the religious use of στέμματα and *infulae*, so characteristic of the religion of the Greeks and Romans. With the rest of Nillson's argument I am in entire accord. He says:[1] "The Λήναιος is the Ληναγέτης and the Λήναια the festival of the λῆναι; with wine-press the words have only the coincidences of sound, which was bound to lead very early to a confusion." Such a confusion, I argue, also tended to a very early obscuration of the true meaning of lenae and of the fact that it came from the same root as the old Greek word λῆνος and the Latin *lana*, wool.

The Naiads are among the followers of Dionysus and the name Nais appears for a bacchant on a black-figured vase and Naia on an aryballos. The naiads are nymphs who have their homes at the springs of rivers and lakes and at harbor-heads. In the Odyssey[2] they live at the head of the harbor of Phorkys in Ithaca. "At the head

[1] *Griech. Fest.*, 275 f. [2] 13, 102 ff.

of the harbor is an olive-tree, with pointed leafage, and close to it a lovely shadowy cave, sacred to the nymphs who are called naiads. Within are jars and mixing-bowls of stone; there the bees make honey; and there are tall looms of stone, and there the nymphs weave cloaks of sea-purple color, a marvel to see." In view of the obvious derivation of the names of followers of Dionysus which I have just considered, from words connoting spinning and carding wool, and from words for wool and flocks of wool, it is tempting to think that there was a confusion between νάω to float or stream and νέω to spin (for which forms in νάω are cited by grammarians and lexicographers), and to argue that the original naiads were spinners rather than "floaters." However the associations with water are so strong in the case of the naiads that it is hardly possible to find any such primitive meaning as that of "spinners" in their name. They doubtless together with the nymphs in general, came into the cult of Dionysus as a projection of the female power in the reproduction rites of Dionysus Pseudanor with which the klodones and mimallones are expressly connected. They are the counterparts of the "ithyphallic daemons,[1] which are fertility and vegetation spirits," and, as Nillson says further, "the female spirits which correspond to the satyrs, etc. have assumed so beautiful a form that the relationship is difficult to recognize." He points to the lines of the Hymn to Aphrodite,[2]

> τῇσι δὲ Σειληνοὶ καὶ εὔσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης
> μίσγοντ' ἐν φιλότητι.—

and to the depictions on the vases in proof of the original connection of all these spirits of fertility. Such representations as those found on the coins of Lete[3] in Macedonia belong to the same category.

[1] Nillson, *op. cit.*, 188. [2] V, 262 f. [3] Head, *Hist. Num.*, 197.

The Bassarids, who have their name from the long trailing robe of the vegetation-god, in the play of Aeschylus which has its title from them, take vengeance upon Orpheus because he worshipped the Sun on Mount Pangaeum instead of the deity of their worship.

Klodones, Mimallones, Xantriae, Lenae, Bassarids—these names all point to the reproductive magic of vegetation rites in the worship of Dionysus Pseudanor, the god with the girl face.

"Whence doth my lady come? Where was she born? and what is this robe of hers?" are the scornful questions put by Lycurgus to the captive Dionysus in the *Edoni* of Aeschylus, 61: ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή; So Pentheus in the Bacchants of Euripides taunts the god with his love-locks flowing down over his face and his "red and white of cheeks that never face the light." Dionysus is, as Miss Harrison says, "the son of Semele, the Earth-goddess, (who) is but the impersonation, the projection of the fruits of the Earth."[1]

To repeat then—it is the belief in the efficacy of the female or reproductive being to compel Mother Earth, Anesidora, to send up her gifts that developed in the vegetation rites of a peasant folk, resulting in the wearing of the robe and the use of the characteristic implement of women, the spindle, that lay back of these names for the followers of Dionysus. The conception was hellenized and made ethical in the Greek *klothes*, spinners of human destiny, who have power to shape the life of man, whereas the primitive klodones, mimallones, and the rest are only the projections of vegetation magic by means of the spindle, the flocks of wool and the trailing robe, which were "religious objects."

As women used the spindle in the work that was, besides child-bearing, their most important contribution to the

[1] *Themis*, 421.

daily life of the tribe, it was imagined that the women spirits of the fields and hills had also the art of spinning, and the spindle became the attribute of the queen of the nymphs, Artemis, and her train of nymphs. The *Moos-weibchen* and *Wald-weibchen* of the Teutonic folk-lore spin as well as hunt. Whether these spirits were independent of the northern Artemis, or, as is more probable, a development from the same origin, the Homeric epithet of Artemis, χρυσηλάκατος, goddess of the Gold Spindle, has a parallel, noted by Grimm and others, in the spinning activities of the wild huntresses of Germany.

It is perhaps worth noting in connection with these vegetation rites in Pieria, land of good steeds,[1] which the Lydias, giver of wealth to men, enriches with his fertilizing flow, that in the Iliad the epithet deep-soiled, which is applied so often to Troy, the land of good steeds, and is also used with the name of the home of Achilles in Thessaly, occurs to describe Paeonia (= Pieria) in both its forms, ἐριβῶλαξ and ἐρίβωλος. The word occurs otherwise in the Iliad sporadically to describe other lands such as Thrace, which are breeding places for flocks or horses. Compare the descriptions of Phthia and Thrace in Iliad 9, 479 and Iliad 11, 222.

Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβώλακα, μητέρα μήλων,

and

ὃς τράφη ἐν Θρήκῃ ἐριβώλακι, μητέρι μήλων·

The poet evidently uses ἐριβῶλαξ and ἐρίβωλος for the fertile lands of good and well-watered soil which from

[1] *Bacch.*, 570 ff.:

διαβὰς Ἀξιὸν εἰλισσομένας Μαινάδας ἄξει,
Λυδίαν τε, τὸν εὐδαιμονίας
βροτοῖς ὀλβοδόταν
πατέρα τε, τὸν ἔκλυον
εὔιππων χώραν ὕδασιν
καλλίστοισι λιπαίνειν.

early times have been the breeding places of horses and cattle and sheep, as well as productive of crops. We have seen that in Troy, the land of horses, the river was propitiated by horses sunk in his stream; about the vegetation rites in Pieria we are more fully informed because of the material offered to the Attic dramatist by the strange performances of the women followers of the vegetation-god.

εἰς ὄρος εἰς ὄρος, ἔνθα μένει
θηλυγενὴς ὄχλος
ἀφ' ἱστῶν παρὰ κερκίδων τ'
οἰστρηθεὶς Διονύσῳ.[1]

[1] *Bacch.*, 116 ff.

CHAPTER XII

THE AVERTING OF EVIL
THE COCK, THE SUN, AND AMBER

"Peace! The charm's wound up."
—Macbeth.

"The extravagant and erring spirit hies to his confine."
—Hamlet.

"THE ritual of σφάγια and ἐναγισμοί, of slaughter and of purification, is based on fear of ghosts and of their action on living men, whether as evil winds, or for dread portents, or for vengeance on the broken oath, or first and foremost, for the guilt of shed blood. Its essence is of aversion."[1]

There are three words in the Greek language which are in themselves possessed of a powerful apotropaic meaning, which also give names to deities or heroes who are especially concerned with the driving away of evil things; the verbs are ἀλεύω, ἀλέκω and ἀμύνω. The least common of these, in its active and apotropaic sense, is ἀλεύω which appears in the following passages of Aeschylus, in which a strong entreaty is addressed to gods to avert evil.

1) εἴδωλον Ἄργου γηγενοῦς, ἄλευ' ἄ δᾶ. φοβοῦμαι.[2]
2) ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ
θεαί τ' ὀρόμενον κακὸν ἀλεύσατε.[3]
3) καὶ Κύπρις, ἄτ' εἶ γένους προμάτωρ,
ἄλευσον.[4]
4) ἄλευσον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας.[5]

[1] Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 69. [2] *P.V.*, 568 (the cry of Io). [3] *Septem*, 86.
[4] *Septem*, 141. [5] *Suppliants*, 528 (addressed to Zeus).

From this verb, as I have elsewhere pointed out,[1] comes the name of the health deity Aleuas, who was regarded as the ancestor of the great Thessalian clan of the Aleuadae. The verb ἀμύνω, so usual in Homer, also gives a name to a deity or hero concerned with health, that is Amynos, worshipped in Athens in a sanctuary called the Amyneion. The averting force of ἀμύνω in a prayer against disease is seen in the prayer of the priest to Apollo in the Iliad,[2]—

ἤδη νῦν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἄμυνον.

From the verb ἀλέκω, ἀλέξω is derived the name of the deity Alexanor, the successor of Titan, the brother of the Sun at Titane. He is said to have built the Asklepeion there and was worshipped with ἐναγισμοί after sunset. The title ἀλεξίκακος is given to Apollo, Herakles, and other destroyers of pestilence and hurtful things. An example of the use of ἀλέξω in a prayer analogous to those in which the petition is made with ἀλεύω and ἀμύνω is found in the Odyssey,—[3]

Ζεὺς τό γ' ἀλεξήσειε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.[4]

Names such as Alexandros, Amynandros, Aleuas, Amyntor, etc., originated in the cult of deities regarded as conserving the life of men and their herds and harvests. The title of the sun, which occurs in the Iliad once as a substantive alone in the sixth book[5], in the comparison of Paris in his bright armor to the sun in his splendor, in the nineteenth book[6] in the same comparison, here employed to describe Achilles in his armor, appears with the word Ὑπερίων.

τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὥς τ' ἠλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων.

[1] *C.Q.*, 1919, 170 f. [2] *Il.* 1, 456. [3] 3, 346.
[4] *Cf.* also the cry of the chorus in *O.C.*, 143, at the sight of Oedipus in the sanctuary: Ζεῦ ἀλεξήτωρ, τίς ὁ πρέσβυς;
[5] *Il.* 6, 513. [6] *Il.* 19, 398.

The word ἠλέκτωρ is apparently the same as the name of the hero Alektor, which appears in Odyssey 4, 10. Other examples of this hesitation between η and ᾱ before a liquid could be adduced. Alektor comes from the verb ἀλέκω and means Averter of Ill. It is true that according to Fick-Bechtel both Alektor and Alektryon come from ἀλέγω, "kümmere mich," and they note on the meaning of the two names "jedenfalls nicht Hahn." It is unlikely, however, that the two sets of words coinciding precisely in form have different derivations and I shall give reasons to prove that these are all derived from ἀλέκω. If then Alektor is the same as ἠλέκτωρ, the latter is an epithet of the sun on high which drives away the evil of the darkness and the night. The god or hero Euamerion, worshipped with divine honor at Titane, a deity of healing, must have been a god of the day, worshipped after the dreaded time which the Greeks euphemistically called εὐφρόνη had passed. Now, the sun together with the rivers and the earth and the spirits of vengeance, Erinyes, who "go in darkness," are invoked in the Iliad at the taking of oaths and, as Miss Harrison points out, σφάγια for the averting of ill were always employed at oath-taking. It seems reasonable to infer then that the Sun in his splendor, "who sees and hears all things," had the title ἠλέκτωρ as the greatest and most potent Driver Away of Evil Things.

The names Alektryon and Alektor which occur in Homer cannot, as Eustathios and Fick-Bechtel remark, mean cock. Apparently the name was not attached to the bird in Greek until the sixth century and it has been suggested that it was given to the Περσικὸς ὄρνις because of its fighting nature. This interpretation is wrong, as the verb ἀλέκω does not mean to fight, but to ward off or avert. The chthonic character of the cock is evident from the fact that cocks were kept in the shrine

of Asklepios and the offering of the cock to Asklepios to drive off evil spirits at death is well known. The passage in Hamlet expresses the superstition that attached to this bird from early time:—

> "I have heard
> The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
> Doth with his lofty and shrill sounding throat
> Awake the god of day and at his warning
> Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
> The extravagant and erring spirit hies
> To his confine."

So also Basilius, bishop of Caesarea:—

> αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος πᾶς δαίμων φεύγει,

and Prudentius, *ad Gallicinium:*—

> "Ferunt vagantes daemones
> laetos tenebris noctium
> Gallo canente exterritos
> Sparsim timere et cedere."

Many examples of such a belief in the efficacy of the cock to avert evil may be found in the folk belief of the present day among simple-minded peasants from the Hebrides and Ireland to Italy and Greece. In County Clare a black cock is sacrificed to the devil. The use of white, red, and black cocks to propitiate the winds and against disease in modern Greece is described by Lawson in his book on Modern Greek Folk-Lore and Ancient Greek Religion. Of the sacrifice of the cock described by Pausanias in telling of the ceremony to avert the winds at Methana in Troezen Miss Harrison writes:[1] "The Methanian cock is a typical σφάγιον: it is carried around for purification, the evil influences of the wind are somehow caught by it, in rather proleptic fashion, and then buried away. It is really of the nature of pharmakos ceremonies."

[1] *Prolegomena*, 67.

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, employed a white cock in his magical cure of those afflicted with the spleen, according to Plutarch.[1] He sacrificed the cock and effected the cure by pressing with his right foot on the back of the sufferer.

The derivations of ἀλέκτωρ which one finds in the dictionaries—for example in the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott—sin against the laws of the Greek language and against those of semantics as well. That dictionary gives "husband" as one of the meanings of ἀλέκτωρ and refers to Tzetzes on Lykophron 1094 in support of that meaning. The expressions in Lykophron are highly metaphorical, as they constantly are in his poem. He calls Nauplios, who devised the plan of corrupting the wives of the Greeks who were absent in Troy, an ἐχῖνος, or hedgehog, and calls the wives "the hens who abide at home;" the husbands are called the "cocks." The passage runs as follows: "By such devices shall a hedgehog undermine the houses and cheat into bitter hatred of the cocks the hens that keep the home." It is clear that from this passage the general meaning of husband cannot be extracted except by the metaphorical use of the word as seen here. If cock means husband, then hen means wife. Throughout the poem metaphors from the animal world occur constantly—for example in 1291 sailors are hounds; in the next line but one they are wolves; a few lines on the Kouretes are wild boars; the Argonauts are wolves in 1309. Lion's whelp, father-slaying wolf, nightingale, serpent, sea-gulls, swan, falcon, lion, bull,—all these appear in Kassandra's speech as metaphors for the heroes and heroines mentioned. This is a most striking quality of Lykophron's style and no one who had read the passage in its connection could possibly argue that the general meaning of husband is to be given to the Greek ἀλέκτωρ.

[1] Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 3.

Eustathius says that ἀλέκτωρ means both ὁμόλεκτρος and ἡ μὴ πειραθεῖσα λέκτρου. The second of these meanings he gets from the punning passage in Athenaeus 3, 53, modelled on the Lexiphanes of Lucian, the point of which lies in the "nice derangement of epitaphs" on the part of the ὀνοματοθήρας, Pontienus of Philadelphia.

Meyer derives ἀλέκτωρ correctly from ἀλέκω, but interprets the word as warlike:— "ἀλέκτωρ bedeutet also Abwehrer, wie der kampflustige Hahn leicht genannt werden kann."[1] Kretschmer also, with the same derivation and explanation, lays stress on the fighting character of the bird.[2] In view of the connection of the cock and the sun, its use as offering for the dead and in apotropaic ritual, its presence on grave monuments, such as the Harpy Tomb, and its association with Asklepios, together with its reputation through the ages as the driver away of evil spirits when the sun rises, I hold that the word must mean Averter of Ill and that it has the same derivation, etymological and psychological, as that of ἠλέκτωρ, the old epithet of the sun, which already in Homer's time was passing out of use.

Fragment 767 (Nauck) of Sophocles—[3]
οὐμὸς ἀλέκτωρ ἦγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς μύλην—is regarded as a line in which ἀλέκτωρ has the sense of husband. But the meaning of the whole line is entirely obscure. Pearson says of the word, "(It) in the sense of husband (cf. ἀλόχος) is almost unexampled, and it is difficult to avoid the impression that it must have been so grotesquely ambiguous as to be out of place in a serious play." He says of Lykophron 1094 that "the *équivoque* is doubtless intentional." As we have seen, the *équivoque*, or rather metaphor taken from the beast-world and birds, runs through the whole of Lykophron's style and one

[1] Meyer, *Griech. Etym.*, I, 296 (1883).
[2] Kretschmer, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 1894, p. 359 f.
[3] (= 851, Pearson).

would have some curious definitions if the other examples had been taken as seriously by the lexicographers as the metaphor of cock has been. Pearson refers to the use of ἀλέκτωρ in Bacchylides 4, 7. The word is the only one left in the mutilated line and there is no reason to suppose that it means anything but cock here, except that Jebb supplied out of his own head missing words, on the assumption that ἀλέκτωρ here means "spouse" of Hera. His version is this—

παρὰ ἑύρροον Ἀλφειὸν
δὶς Ἥρας οἱ εὐρυβίας ἀλέκτωρ.

Jebb relied for the meaning of ἀλέκτωρ here on Lykophron and Sophocles, a vicious circle. Before ἀλέκτωρ in the manuscript stands ΑΣ. Palmer thought that might be short for the famous Pindaric phrase ἐνδομάχας ἀλέκτωρ and in view of the coincidences between the two poets that seems likely. Further, Tzetzes, whose definition is Jebb's main argument for his interpretation of cock as husband, gives not only that suggestion, but also writes that the Greeks may have been called cocks by Lykophron because of their fighting qualities. The failure to recognize the highly metaphorical character of Lykophron's style has misled eminent scholars into the theory that the word for cock in Greek also means husband and to the belief that it is derived from α and λέκτρον. The mistake doubtless came from the fact that no one of them took the trouble to read the lines in Lykophron in full, preferring to rest on the first half of Tzetzes' worthless explanation.

AMBER

"In the sea of changeable winds
His merchants fished for pearls;
In the sea where the North Star ends
They fished for yellow amber."

—*A King of Nineveh*

In the Hippolytus of Euripides the chorus in a song utters the wish to be lifted up on the wings of a bird over the ocean wave of the Adriatic shore and the water of Eridanus, where sorrowing maids, weeping for Phaethon, drop their gleaming tears of amber into the bright surge of their father. The myth appearing in this lyric grew from the traffic in amber, which was brought in ancient times as now from the coast of Prussia and Pomerania on the Baltic and had an *entrepôt* at the mouth of the Padus. Baltic amber beads have been found in great numbers in Mycenae, though Tiryns and Troy have yielded none.[1] Homer tells of a necklace of gold strung with "ambers" like the sun, which a suitor, Eurymachos, presented to Penelope. The Phoenician who stole the baby Eumaeus away brought a similar necklace to divert the attention of the mother from the departure of the Phoenician nurse with the child.

χρύσεον ὅρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο.[2]

In both these cases the plural of the word ἤλεκτρον is employed. The singular appears only in the fourth book of the Odyssey, in the description of the metal decoration of the wall of the palace in Sparta, where it very likely denotes the mixture of gold and silver that later was called elektron. The formation of the word with the ending -τρον, which denotes an instrument, as in ἄροτρον, the thing for ploughing, suggests the immediate formation from ἀλέκω in the sense of phylacterion or amulet. Pliny says,[3] that the Transpadine women put amber necklaces on the necks of their babies, "amuleti ratione." In his time the peasant women across the Padus wore amber not only for ornament, but also to cure throat diseases and goitre.

[1] *P. W.*, *s.v.* Bernstein ("In Tiryns und Troja fehlt er.") Amber at Troy is mentioned by Leaf, *Troy*, p. 80 and 298; and Myres, *Cambridge Ancient History*, p. 105 "amber occurs in the second city." According to Virchow (*Alt. Troj. Graeber*, 9) it has been found at Ren Keui in the Troad.

[2] *Od.* 15, 460; 18, 295–96. [3] 37, 43.

The use of the plural of the word by Homer in describing the necklaces suggests that the gold necklaces were strung with "amulets," for magical or medical as well as for decorative ends. The Phoenician sailors, who have thousands of small wares and *articles de luxe* (ἀθύρματα) on their ship, bring the gold and amber necklace, which the queen and her maids examine greedily with eyes and hands, chaffering the while. The fact that we have the two Homeric descriptions of a gold and amber necklace indicates that it was of a usual type offered in trade and the hundreds of beads of Baltic amber discovered at Mycenae and at Menidhi[1] corroborate this. "In Latium and Etruria amber has been found in nearly all the tombs which contain objects of Phoenician manufacture."[2]

Herodotus[3] does not admit the existence of a river Eridanus which pours its waters into a northern sea and believes that the name of the river was the invention of Greek poets. It has been suggested that the word is a general name for rivers, or that at least it has in it an element[4] seen in the names of several European rivers, such as the Rhodanus, the Danuvius, and curiously enough the Rodaune, which flows by Danzig near the amber shores. Tozer[5] thinks that it comes from ἠρι- early and is an epithet of the sun, and others think that it means the river of night. Hesiod mentions the Eridanus in the list of rivers in the Theogony. Herodotus does not know, he says, of the actual existence of Isles of Tin (Kassiterides) from which tin comes in commerce to the Greeks. He is unable to assure himself that there is a sea at the north of Europe, but from the farthest and most remote part of it, he is aware that both tin and amber

[1] *P. W.*, *s.v.* Bernstein. [2] Frazer, *Paus.*, III, 548. [3] 3, 115.

[4] *Cf.* A. Carnoy's derivation of Poseidon = Lord of Wetness, from element dan = wet.

[5] *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 34.

come in the exchange of commerce (φοιτᾷ). Moreover, he has reason to believe that at the north of Europe there are great quantities of gold. The Amber Route to the head of the Adriatic, which produced the myth of the daughters of the sun weeping amber tears for the sinking of the Shining One into the bright western surge, was one of many overland roads from the Baltic shore, whose inhabitants gathered amber from the seas and from along the beaches, as Tacitus recounts:[1] "Sed et mare scrutantur; ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipse glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura quaeque ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve." Pliny tells[2] of a Roman knight still living in his time who brought an enormous quantity of amber to Rome from the Baltic through Germany and Pannonia. This was used to adorn the circus for the "gladiatorium munus Neronis principis."

Pliny[3] takes amber for his text and occasion for "exposing the folly of the Greeks." He writes—"The story that after Phaethon had been struck by the thunderbolt, his sisters were transformed into trees and dropped amber in their tears year by year into the Eridanus river, called by us the Padus, is told by many poets, first among them, I believe, Aeschylus, Philoxenus, Euripides, Nicander. A false tale, as Italy testifies." He attacks various myths and fables about the origin of amber and adds that it is certain that it is found in islands of the ocean which lie to the north and is called *glaesum* by the Germans. "Our ancestors also believed that it was the sap (*sucum*) of a tree and for that reason called it sucinus."

The ignorance of the geography of northern and western Europe that prevailed among the Greeks and is acknowledged by Herodotus has been ascribed to the cunning of the Phoenician traders, who, it is argued,

[1] *Germania*, 45. [2] 37, 45. [3] 37, 34.

filled the regions unknown to the Greeks with imaginary terrors in order to keep their commercial secrets and to frighten the Greeks off their sea-tracks. Strabo[1] says that the Phoenicians were at one time the only people who had control of the tin trade, which they carried on from the port of Gadeira in Spain, and kept the route by sea a secret from everybody else. On one occasion a Phoenician captain wrecked his ship, losing the lives of his crew, rather than reveal the secret of the port for which he was making to Romans who were sailing in his track.

It is a hard thing to believe that Phoenician cunning and not Greek genius fashioned the wonderful stories about people and lands to the north and west that are found in Herodotus and in the poets. That all the travellers' and sailors' yarns were invented malice prepense by Semitic traders to prevent other exploiters from coming to share their profits is rather against nature. If it is true that the Phoenicians were clever and imaginative enough to induce the Greeks to believe and repeat in their literature those delightful tales of the beings who populated the unknown, we are very much in the debt of the Phoenicians! But surely with the best or worst will in the world the Phoenicians could not have thought all that out with such ingenuity, for purposes of propaganda against Greek trading possibilities, nor suited their tales so nicely to the Greek temperament.[2]

Tozer,[3] after ascribing to the Phoenicians some stories in Herodotus about frankincense, cassia, and cinnamon, and the strange methods employed to get these commodities, writes: "Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that while the Phoenicians themselves were familiar with the western parts of the Mediterranean, all that the Greeks heard of them at an early time was

[1] Strab., 3, 5, 11. [2] *Cf.* Polyb., IV, 40. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 7 f.

vague rumors of a great mountain called Atlas, which supported the heavens, or of lofty rocks, called the pillars of Hercules, which marked the limit of the world in that direction."

Small doubt that the Phoenician sea-captains were a "close corporation," as the saying is, like the πρηκτῆρες described in the Odyssey,[1] "with their heart set on greedy gains;" but the tales of the sun-god in the north and the fall of his son in the bright western wave and the amber-dropping tears of the daughters of the sun-god were not born from Semite guile, but from the beauty of the Greek fancy. The sun, Helios Elektor Hyperion, the Averter of Evil on high, gave his name to the bird of the sun, ἀλέκτωρ, from whose crowing all evil things take flight, and to the bright "sun-stone," ἤλεκτρον, which was a powerful protection against disease and ill.

The verbal connection is not so simple as that quoted from the Greeks by Pliny—*electrum appellatum quoniam sol vocitatus Elector*—but the derivation of ἠλέκτωρ, ἤλεκτρον and ἀλέκτωρ from the verb ἀλέκω is absolutely in accord with the ordinary rules of Greek formation. And it is psychologically consistent that the name for the sun and his bird and the name of the mysterious material which had the color of the sun-rays and a strange power of attraction, which caused the philosopher Thales[2] to say that it had a soul, should come from the same verb of averting evil.

The words ἠλέκτωρ and ἤλεκτρον appear in the Homeric poems, which doubtless set the stamp on them so far as the form goes. Alektor in the Odyssey as a proper name preserves the short quantity of the α which appears in the verb. It is not clear why the other words lengthened as they did the α to η, but, as has been stated, parallel changes of η and ᾰ before a liquid occur in the Ionic of Homer.

[1] *Od.* 8, 162 ff. [2] Diels, *Fragmente der VorSokratiker*, I, p. 4.

CHAPTER XIII

AVERTING OF EVIL
ROYAL NAMES

"The fact that the great manteis are in the majority of cases the sons of a god, nymph, king, or prophet, is some confirmation of our proposition that in the earlier period mantic power is really ἔμφυτος *and that it is not to know a formal art, but to be a certain kind of man that makes the seer. The god, it may be noted, in almost every case is Apollo or Poseidon, a great begetter of magical children."*

—Halliday, *Greek Divination.*

IN W. R. Halliday's illuminating chapter on Manteis the author discusses the close connection between μαντοσύνη and kingship, remarking that the relation between the manteis and royalty is closer the farther back you trace it.[1] "It is no mere chance that has made the Homeric king bearer of a magic wand, a σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς; Agamemnon's sceptre no less than Hesiod's is of divine origin. Indeed the kings of the legendary past were manteis and they possessed the other functions of that office no less than the power of cleansing from the stain of bloodshed." Halliday quotes from Cicero *de divinatione:*[2] "Omnino apud veteres qui rerum potiebantur, iidem auguria tenebant: ut enim sapere, sic divinare regale ducebant. Testis est nostra civitas in qua et reges augures et postea privati eodem sacerdotio praediti rem publicam religionum auctoritate rexerunt."

Among the significant names cited by Halliday are Polyidos the Knower, whose father is Koiranos the King. According to Iliad 13, 663 there was a son of Polyidos

[1] *Greek Divination*, p. 54 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, 67 f.

named Euchenor, which would mean Prayer for Men or Prayer-man. In Iliad 5, 149 the father of Polyidos is Eurydamas, also a significant name, He of Wide Sway, and Eurydamas is a Dreamer.

The king or seer may have the title of his office or function as his name, or his name may be an epithet of the god whose representative he is. The son of Mounichos, son of Dryas, king of the Molossi, cited by Halliday,[1] had the name Alkandros, which is evidently an epithet-name and equivalent in meaning to the word used often as an epithet of deities whose special function is averting of evil and slaying of evil things, such as Apollo and Herakles, ἀλεξίκακος. Such names are common in the dynasties of northern and western Greece and this is in accord with the geographical *provenance* of the mantis in historical times, who comes "almost invariably from the West, endowed with the magical virtues of the less civilized races." So "Akarnania, Dodona, and Leukas furnish seers to the great states of Greece."[2]

Amynandros is a royal name in Epirus, belonging to a king of the Athamanes; the name Alexandros, of the same meaning, is a favorite in the royal families of Epirus and Macedon and is found in Homer as the name of the Trojan prince who is also called Paris; Alketas (Epirus), Alkon (Spartan), Amyntas and Amyntor (Macedonian), Aleuas (Thessalian), short form for Aleuandros and so equivalent in meaning to Alexandros and Amynandros, are notable examples of royal names derived from epithets of a deity who is ἀλεξίκακος. The religious value of these names derived from apotropaic verbs has been largely overlooked and only the military meaning of defender attached to them. But in the light that has been thrown on the religious connections of the early kingship by Sir James Frazer, A. B. Cook, Halliday and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 69. [2] *Ibid.*, 95.

others, there can be no doubt that these words which have become personal names were at first names of a mantis-king, who had the title Averter of Evil from an epithet with which his god was addressed in prayer. So we find Apollo addressed as Smintheus, which is very likely a hypocoristicon for Σμινθοκτόνος, a title which addresses the god as one who keeps the evil of field-mice from the crops. Later Sminthis and Sminthos appear as names of men, doubtless first priestly or royal names, derived from the title of the god. I have suggested[1] that the widely spread name Mus has such an origin, citing the case of the "European Mus," who according to Herodotus was sent out by Mardonius to consult oracles and consulted chiefly oracles of Apollo. In the account given in the eighth book there is a noticeable dwelling upon the name of "this man, who was called Mus." Since we know of so many instances in which priests[2] and priestesses have various animal and bird names, such as horse, lion, hawk, bee, etc., it is quite possible that this Carian Mus had a name that goes back to "Mouse-Apollo," as Sminthis and Sminthos surely do.

The supernatural power ascribed to the king's touch in many countries is of course a survival from the time when the king was also priest, partaking of the mysterious potency of the god whom he served. The account of the healing power of the Epirote king Pyrrhus given by Plutarch[3] is a case in point. "It was a general belief that he could cure the spleen by sacrificing a white cock and then gently pressing with his right foot on the spleen of the person affected, as he lay down on his back; nor was any one so poor or inconsiderable as not to be welcomed if he desired it to the benefit of his touch. He accepted the cock for the sacrifice as a reward, and was

[1] *J.R.S.*, 1923, *Sorex* in *C.I.L.*, II² 1988–9.
[2] Cook, A.B., *Zeus*, I, 441 ff. [3] *Pyrrhus*, 3.

always much pleased with the present. The large toe of that foot was said to have divine virtue; for after his death the rest of the body being consumed, this was found unhurt and untouched by the fire."

The shrine of a deity of healing called Amynos was discovered to the west of the Acropolis in the excavations of 1893. Of this Health-hero Körte says that it is clear that his name is connected with the verb ἀμύνω and means "Abwehrer;" further that he is in this regard related to Apollo. He remarks that we would expect Ἀμύντωρ. After the pattern of similar short names given by Fick-Bechtel, such as Lysos for Lysandros, Amynos would be short for Amynandros. Inscriptions have been found in the precinct containing the name of the Healer-god, one of which attaches the name in the dative to that of Asklepios; another speaks of Amynos and Asklepios and Dexion. In Miss Harrison's full discussion of the relation of the three deities she notes that "we have the names of the three personalities manifestly separate and enumerated in significant order."[1] Dexion was the name given to Sophocles because he received the god Asklepios in his house and gave him an altar. For this reason, says the *Etymologicum Magnum*,[2] the Athenians built a shrine for Sophocles, wishing to show honor to him after his death. The sanctuary of Amynos contains a deep well which with its precinct wall apparently belongs to the time of Peisistratos. Körte believes that the worship of Asklepios was first introduced in Athens by the poet Sophocles. I have already noted that the paean in the beginning of Oedipus Tyrannus is the most splendid example in Greek literature of a song for the averting of ill. This choral passage has been taken to indicate that the play was written

[1] Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 344; *Primitive Athens*, 104 f.; Judeich, *Topogr.*, p. 259; Körte, *A.M.*, 21, 289; Weller, *Athens*, 83–85.

[2] *Et. Mag.*, *s.v.* Δεξίων.

after the great plague of 429–428 B. C. which caused the death of Pericles.[1] It may be that Sophocles introduced the worship of Asklepios, or at least instituted the worship of that god in his own house, because of his own recovery or escape from the disease. The discovery of this sanctuary of the Averter with its holy well and marble table for sacrifice and the inscriptions recording the hitherto unknown name of the healing-god Amynos suggests that many evidences and monuments of the Greek religion unmentioned in the extant literature have vanished without leaving a trace. The verb from which the name of this hero is derived appears in the first prayer for the averting of ill that appears in Greek.[2]

Kekrops Amynandros

An inscription discovered in Athens which belongs to the Augustan period gives the names of the guild called the Amynandridae. Hesychius has the gloss:

'Αμυνανδρίδαι, γένος ἐξ οὗ ἱερεῖς 'Αθήνῃσι.

Since the priest of Kekrops, the old Snake King of Athens, is a member of this list, it has been plausibly conjectured that Kekrops was worshipped as 'Αμύνανδρος. The name is also attested at Athens in Plato's[3] Timaeus, where it is the name of the boy who made the remark about Solon's poetry to the old Kritias, and by two or three inscriptions.[4] As already noted, it was a royal name among the Athamanes.[5]

Aleuas and Alea

Two apotropaic epithets which denote respectively a goddess and a hero are derived from the old verb ἀλεύω, used, in the passages which I have cited from Aeschylus, in prayers of desperate entreaty to the gods to avert ill.

[1] Thucydides was infected by it, but recovered and wrote a famous description of it.
[2] *Il.* 1, 456. [3] *Tim.*, 21. [4] *C.I.A.*, III, 2079.
[5] Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 320, 328; Livy, 31, 41.

These names are Aleuas and Alea. The significance of the name of the goddess worshipped at Tegea and Mantinea is correctly interpreted by Fougères.[1] "Aléa Athena," he writes, "signifie la déesse Aléa, qui ressemble à Athena. Par cette addition on a voulu marquer les rapports entre la déesse protectrice d'Arcadie et la déesse tutélaire d'Athènes." He points to the fact that in the language of Homer and Hesiod the Greek word ἀλέα denotes "la protection qui éloigne le mal."

The name Alea is given to Athena in Arcadia in the places mentioned and according to Mommsen[2] there was a substitution of the title Alexandra for Alea in the scholion on Pindar *Pyth.* 9, 30, which states that Adrastos became king of Sikyon and established there the shrine of Hera called Alexandra.

The name Aleuas, the heroic ancestor of the Thessalian Aleuadae, evidently comes from the same verb. Curtius is in error in deriving the name from ἀλέω, grind. Meyer[3] distinguishes between the verb ἀλέϝω, avert and ἀλέσjω grind. Aleuas, which I derive from ἀλεύω, avert, must be associated psychologically with the other names so frequent in the northern part of the Greek peninsula, Amyntas, Alexandros, etc. If the Aleuadae traced themselves back to Herakles, as Pindar says in the tenth Pythian ode, the epithet Aleuas or its full form Aleuandros may first have been attached to Herakles, as he has the epithet ἀλεξίκακος, of like meaning, and was worshipped as a deity of health in the country bordering on the Malian gulf. Gruppe notes the connection of Herakles with the group of divine physicians Asklepios, Amynos, Alexanor, Alkon, Alkides, Alkaios and mentions his epithets ἀλεξίκακος and ἀποτρόπαιος and his relation to Auge, a birth-goddess, and Hebe, goddess of youthful

[1] *B.C.H.*, 16, 1892, p. 573. [2] *Cf.* Gruppe, *op. cit.* 5, 2, 1126.
[3] *Griech. Etym.*, 1358, p. 433.

strength. Further he observes that Herakles remains to the end of antiquity an averter of ill.

The myth about Aleuas told by Aelian brings him into the circle of divine healers of the order of Melampus, Iamos and Herakles. He is said to have been a young shepherd on Mount Ossa, with whom a serpent fell in love and licked his face and brought him all kinds of gifts. Melampus owed his gift of second sight to a grateful brood of serpents, who in return for his giving their mother funeral rites by burning her, purified his ears with their tongues, so that he understood the voices of birds and beasts.

"Melampus touched at his ears, laid finger on wrist;
He was not dreaming, he sensibly felt and heard.
Above, through leaves, where the tree-twigs thick intertwist,
He spied the birds and the bill of the speaking bird.
His cushion mosses in shades of various green,
The lumped, the antlered, he pressed, while the sunny snake
Slipped under: draughts he had drunk of clear Hippocrene,
It seemed, and sat with a gift of the god awake.

"Melampus dwelt among men: physician and sage,
He served them, loving them, healing them; sick or maimed
Or them that frenzied in some delirious rage
Outran the measure, his juice of the woods reclaimed."

And Iamos was of the same race of seers; his father was Apollo and his grandfather Poseidon, that "notable begetter of magical children." Iamos was nursed by two bright-eyed serpents and fed by them on the "harmless venom" of the bee. "He was hidden among rushes

in an impenetrable brake, his tender body all suffused with the golden and deep purple gleams of the iris flowers; wherefore his mother prophesied, saying that by this holy name of immortality he should be called throughout all time." His name is held by Gruppe, rightly I believe, to mean Healer and to belong to the same group as Iasion, Iason and Iamenos,—in spite of some variation in the quantity of α, all being derived from the verb of healing ἰάομαι. Pindar's derivation from iris or pansy, beautiful as it is, cannot be right. It is a poet's lovely fancy; and it is clear that Pindar is playing with etymology in the passage as he uses the strange expression ἀμεμφεῖ ἰῷ, "blameless poison," for honey.

Aleuas was the name of a healing deity like Asklepios, ἥρωα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων, "a hero, averter of all manner of sickness," and his name was probably attached to that of Herakles or some other great healer and helper in the form Ἀλεύανδρος. The Thessalian cult of health centering at Trikka, where it was famous in the Homeric time, had come to Trikka from Lakereia near Boebeis and the river Amyrus.[1] It had, I suggest, been brought with the "bitter root" of healing and the skillful hand of a Cheiron, "The Handler" or "Hero with the gentle touch," by Eordaeans also called Hippocentauri, from Paeonia and Illyria, lands of "Root-diggers." These, we know from Stephen of Byzantium, settled in Lakereia near the lake where Apollo met Koronis, the mother of Asklepios.

Skopas is another royal name, of the short form like Amynas and Alexas, from Skopandros, Watcher over men.[2] From the tenth Pythian ode of Pindar we learn that both the Aleuadae, who had their seat of power at Larissa, and the Skopadae, lords of Crannon, once called Ephyra,

[1] According to Allen, *Homeric Catalogue*, p. 122.
[2] Fick-Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 16.

were descendants of Herakles. These families are chiefly known to us through the poets, and in the case of the Skopadae, from the passage in the Protagoras of Plato in which a poem of Simonides is discussed. The statement of Theocritus, that the great families of Thessaly would be buried in obscurity but for the songs written in their honour, is amply justified:

πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀντιόχοιο δόμοις καὶ ἄνακτος Ἀλεύα
ἁρμαλιὴν ἔμμηνον ἐμετρήσαντο πενεσταί.
πολλοὶ δὲ Σκοπάδαισιν ἐλαυνόμενοι ποτὶ σηκοὺς
μόσχοι σὺν κεραῆσιν ἐμυκήσαντο βοέσσι
μυρία ἀμ' πεδίον Κραννώνιον ἐνδιάασκον
ποιμένες ἔκκριτα μῆλα φιλοξείνοισι Κρεώνδαις.
ἀλλ' οὔ σφιν τῶν ἦδος, ἐπεὶ γλυκὺν ἐξεκένωσαν
θυμὸν ἐς εὑρεῖαν σχεδιὰν στυγνοῖο γέροντος,
ἀμναστοὶ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῆνα λιπόντες
δειλοῖς ἐν νεκύεσσι μακροὺς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο,
εἰ μὴ δεινὸς ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήιος αἴολα φωνέων
βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστοὺς
ὁπλοτέροις.

The Aleuadae are more conspicuous and more often mentioned than the Skopadae, who were the younger branch of the Aleuad family, as the Kreondae are the younger branch of the Skopadae at Crannon. Both families appear to have immigrated from Thesprotia. The eponym of the Aleuadae is one of the Thessalian heroes whose story brings them into connection with the serpent, of whom the most famous is Asklepios. Of him Rohde writes: "In Wahrheit ist ursprünglich auch er ein in der Erde hausender thessalischer Ortsdaimon gewesen, der aus der Tiefe, wie viele solche Erdgeister, Heilung von Krankheiten, Kentniss der Zukunft (beides in alter Zeit eng verbunden) heraufsandte."[1]

[1] *Psyche*, I, 141.

It would seem probable that the name Skopas, which maintains itself in the Skopad genealogy, had some especial meaning such as that which kept the name Alexander so prominent in the north of Greece. The value of that name is seen in the health deity Alexanor, as well as in the epithet applied to Herakles, Hermes, Apollo, and other divinities, ἀλεξίκακος. The name Skopas evidently comes from the root σκεπ-, which has in it the meanings of shelter, watch, and look, and may be compared with Latin *tueor*, which signifies both to guard and to gaze. The meaning of shelter is seen in connection with the chthonic deities at Hermione, in a definition in Suidas, in which, under the phrase ἀνθ' Ἑρμίωνος, is the following:

Ἑρμιόνη γὰρ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἄσυλος, ὥστε σκέπην παρέχειν τοῖς ἱκετεύουσιν.

This is a most useful example of the root for my purpose, which is to give the meaning of Shelterer, Protector, to the name Skopas, and to attach it to a chthonic deity of Thessaly, for whose cult at Crannon and Larissa, and at many other places in Thessaly, there is inscriptional evidence.[1]

The chthonic deity is Hermes, from whom a Thessalian and Aetolian month was named. This month, Hermaios, may, as Stein[2] suggests, testify to a very ancient cult of Hermes as "Totengott" in Thessaly and Aetolia. There is evidence[3] that Hermes was worshipped at Pherae, that seat of divinity that traffics with the dead. The chthonic deities are notably the gods of increase of field and flock, and in the sixteenth book[4] of the Iliad Hermes lies with Polymele, the One of Many Flocks, and there is born to him a son Eudoros, an epithet that recalls titles of the

[1] *P. W.*, 8, 738, gives the references. [2] *P. W.*, 8, 763.
[3] Callim, *Frag.*, 117. (But cf. emendation of Wilamowitz to ὁ Περφεραῖος.)
[4] *Il.* 16, 180 ff.

Earth, the All-Giver. Hermes himself has the title of ἐπιμήλιος, and the word πολύμηλος[1] occurs in the Iliad in connection with Phorbas (the Feeder of Cattle), the Trojan most beloved by Hermes, who gave him wealth.

There is no need to dwell on these well-known facts, which I use in leading up to the interpretation of Hermes' epithet εὔσκοπος, as the Shelterer or Protector, an interpretation which would link the word with Skopas, the eponym of the lords of Crannon, whose ten thousand goodly sheep were watched by countless shepherds on the plains of Crannon. I would interpret both words in the sense of the lines addressed to another shepherd god:

"thou god of shepherds all,
which of our gentle lambkins takest keepe
and when our flock into mischaunce mought fall
dost save from mischiefe the unwary sheepe,
Als of their maisters hast no less regard
than of their flocks, which thou dost watch and ward."

"Watch and ward" expresses the etymological meaning of the root seen in both words. The words εὐσκεπής[2] and εὐσκέπαστος,[3] passives to εὔσκοπος, both mean sheltered, the passive forms evidently retaining the more ancient meaning. The active form, εὔσκοπος, passed over into the meaning "with good aim," and is applied once in the Odyssey to Artemis in that significance. It is later used of the other gods of the bow, Apollo and Herakles. It is not suited to Hermes in that sense, and is found with reference to him twice in the Iliad and twice in the Odyssey, always in connection with the much-disputed epithet ἀργεϊφόντης.

The lines in the seventh book[4] of the Odyssey, in which the epithets appear, suggest the meaning of Shelterer, the "custos maximus" of Horace, for ἐύσκοπος.

[1] *Il.* 14, 490. [2] Theophrastus, *H.P.*, 4, 11. [3] Thuc., V 71. [4] *Od.* 7, 136–138.

σπένδοντες δεπάεσσιν ἐυσκόπῳ ἀργεϊφόντῃ
ᾧ πύματῳ σπένδεσκον, ὅτε μνησαίατο κοίτου.

Before lying down in sleep, which is so akin to death, they commend themselves to the protection of the God of Souls. Here is the true meaning of εὔσκοπος with reference to Hermes. By contamination with the meaning seen in σκοπός, mark, the epithet assumed the significance which made it appropriate to archer-gods. The other epithet, ἀργεϊφόντης, whatever its meaning, has in it the root which appears in the name of the dread Death Goddess, Persephoneia, and if the etymology of "Περσε-" is that which is declared in Roscher, 2, 1288, to be the only satisfactory one, i.e. "stürmendes Licht," the meaning of ἀργεϊφόντης would closely approach that of Persephoneia in both parts of its composition.

In the genealogy of the Skopadae, so far as known, the name Skopas appears as the name of three of the family. The name Diaktorides appears among the suitors of Agarista in the sixth book of Herodotus—

ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κραννώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλκων.

The name of the Skopad suitor is derived from an epithet of the god Hermes, which appears always, in the Iliad, in the phrase διάκτορος ἀργεϊφόντης. Of the ten instances of the word in the Odyssey it accompanies ἀργεϊφόντης in eight. It appears alone in the Odyssey, once in the genitive, and once in the vocative. The epithet is appropriate to Hermes ψυχοπομπός, who guides souls to and from the realm of Persephone.

Connecting the name Skopas with the epithet ἐύσκοπος, and noting the name Diaktorides, which points directly to a cult of Hermes, I argue that just as the Aleuadae traced their family to a hero, perhaps a hypostasis of Herakles, whose name was Aleuas, Averter of Evil, so

the Skopadae, lords of many flocks, had for their eponym a hypostasis of Hermes Chthonios under the name of Skopas, the Protector.

Gruppe does not discuss the Skopadae, but finds that the hero Kreon is a hypostasis of the Thessalian Hermes. This would afford another example of the royal names in question. We learn from Plato's *Protagoras* that the father of Skopas of Simonides' ode was Kreon. Gruppe[1] writes of Hermes κρέων, worshipped in Thessaly. The only passage quoted by Gruppe in which the title is actually given to Hermes is a fragment from Anacreon, and I have been able to find no other. It is, of course, possible that Hermes may have borne this title, which is a usual one for divinities and heroes, and in that case he would serve excellently as the eponym of the younger branch of the Skopads, the Kreondae.

Like the names Alexanor, Alketas, Alkon, Alexander, Amynander, etc., the name Skopas appears in the western part of northern Greece. It is found in inscriptions[2] referring to Aetolians, and the well-known strategos of the Aetolians[3] (whose name occurs in the second of the two inscriptions cited) was named Skopas. It is significant for the prevalence of these names of religious origin in the northwestern parts of Greece, as well as in Macedonia and Thessaly, that among the witnesses on the bronze tablet discovered at Dodona[4] are the names of two Molossians, Alexanor and Skopaios. (It must be said that the first two letters of the latter name are supplied.)

Hermes does not appear on the coins of Thessaly, which chiefly testify to the worship of the great Thessalian god, Poseidon, but the cult of Hermes was widespread in this land of flocks and herds, and it is characteristic of Thessalian cult that he should be worshipped

[1] *Op. cit.*, 5, 2, 1323. [2] Ditt., *Sylloge*, 845, 11; 923, 3.
[3] Woodhouse, *Aetolia, Geography, Topography, and Antiquities*, p. 235.
[4] Ditt., *Sylloge*, 839, 5.

as χθόνιος. From this god, who watched over their wealth and gave them increase, I think the Skopadae got their name.

According to Virgil Panthoos, who in the Iliad is a member of Priam's council and father of Euphorbos and Poulydamas, was the "priest of the citadel and of Apollo," whose temple with its great "aduton" was on the citadel, Pergamos, which Apollo in the story of the Iliad often seeks. The love of that god for his priest is indicated by the verse which says that Apollo would not permit the sons of Panthoos to be overcome in the battle, where the father's name in the genitive takes the place of the usual patronymic. The son Euphorbos has a name appropriate to a priest-king or chief who is a servant of Helios-Apollo, a vegetation god in the sense that he feeds the flocks and gives them increase and like Mother Earth "nourishes all things that are upon the earth."[1] Phorbas is the name of a hero who is in some myths the enemy and in others the favorite of Apollo; his name is of the same meaning as Euphorbos. In the Iliad Phorbas is a Trojan, beloved of Hermes, and has the title of Rich in Flocks. The name of Panthoos himself has apparently no hieratic meaning; if however Peirithoos is accepted as having in it a reference to the Sun-Wheel, which Ixion the father of Peirithoos almost certainly represented, may not Panthoos have originally the same connotation? The name of the other son of Panthoos, Poulydamas, the Seer, was no doubt, the title of some god, and Gruppe has assigned such compounds to chthonian deities. Eurydamas, the Trojan Dreamer, has a priestly function; the name of another Trojan, Adamas, suggests the title of the god who is called ἀδάμαστος in Iliad 9, 158:—

δμηθήτω—Ἀΐδης τοι ἀμείλιχος ἠδ' ἀδάμαστος.

[1] *Hymn* XXX, 1–2.

The best commentary on the double aspect of the similar name Admetos, is found in the chapter of Professor J. A. K. Thomson's *Greek Tradition* which is entitled "Alcestis and her Hero;" in a discussion that is full of subtle insight:—

"It was to Admetus in his shining aspect—as it were the Sun-god himself—that Alcestis was married on the day of the strange procession. In his other aspect she is the bride of Death."

The name Adamas occurs in Theocritus[1] for the god in the lower world.

We have then besides the often cited group of names from apotropaic verbs, such as Alexandros, Amynandros, Alkon, Aleuas, others from the verb of healing ἰάομαι such as the Trojan Iamenos,[2] Iasion and Iason; still others from the verb ἀκέομαι, Akessamenos, the Paeonian Healer, whose daughter was the bride of the River; and shortened[3] forms of that name such as Akestor and Akestes; further, names such as Skopas for Skopandros from the root σκεπ- to watch over. All these, and many other groups, point to the early stage of religion when the mantis-priest, who was at the same time king, had his birth and his art of prophecy and art of healing as gifts of the god, Apollo or Poseidon or Hermes, whose child he was reputed to be or whose altar he served.

[1] 2, 33 ff. [2] *Il.* 12, 139. [3] Fick-Bechtel, *Personennamen*, pp. 32, etc.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HYPERBOREANS

"*The Old Garden of Phoebus.*"

—Sophocles.

"I WISH to tell you a story which Alcaeus sang in a lyric paean which he composed in honor of Apollo. I will not give it in the Lesbian measure, for I am not poetical, but will change the metre of the lyre into prose. When Apollo was born, Zeus gave him for his adorning a gold head-band and a lyre and also a chariot to drive, with swans to draw it; he then sent him to Delphi and the stream of Castalia to be the prophet of right and law for the Greeks. And Apollo sitting on the chariot seat sent his swans flying to the Hyperborean folk. When the Delphians heard of this, they made a paean-song and a melody, and set youths dancing about the tripod and by this called on their god to return from the Hyperborean land. But the god for a whole year gave laws among the Hyperboreans and when he thought it the time for the tripods of Delphi also to be set ringing, he told his swans to fly back again from the Hyperboreans. It is summer and midsummer at that when Apollo is brought by Alcaeus from the Hyperboreans and as the summer shines bright and Apollo is back again, the lyre too has the bloom of summer in its song to the god. Nightingales sing to him—for of course Alcaeus would have the birds singing—not bewailing their own sadness among men, but uttering all their melody for the god—and the swallow and the cicada sing to him likewise. And in the poem

Castalia flows with silvery streams and Kephissos surges high with his dark wave shining—in which the poet imitates Homer's picture of Enipeus. For Alcaeus, like Homer, makes us see that the water can feel that a god is near."[1]

Alcaeus in the song here paraphrased by Himerius reflects the Delphic legend of Hyperborean Apollo. A famous ode of Pindar's tells of the journey of Herakles to the shadowy springs of the Ister, where he saw the land that lay behind the freezing North Wind and won the Hyperborean folk who serve Apollo to give him an olive tree to be planted in the precinct of Zeus at Olympia.[2] Another ode tells of the hero Perseus, who went to that land to which none but heroes may go. "For neither by ship nor as a wayfarer canst thou find the marvellous road to the thronged folk of the Hyperboreans. Yet Perseus once entered their homes and feasted, finding them when they offered great hecatombs of asses to the god. For Apollo takes delight in their feasts and lovely songs; and he is filled with laughter when he beholds the ramping insolence of those beasts. The Muse shuns not their ways and everywhere dances of young maidens and the voice of the lyre and the noise of the pipes are heard; they bind gold laurel leaves in their hair and feast delightfully. Neither sickness nor dread old age comes near that holy tribe; they dwell without labor or warfare, and avoid Nemesis, whose hand is above justice. In the boldness of his spirit Danae's son once went, under Athene's guidance, into the throng of that blessed folk."[3]

The offerings sent by the Hyperborean Apollo-worshippers to Delos were, Herodotus says,[4] the same holy things bound in a stalk of corn that were used by Thracian and Paeonian women in their ritual of sacrifice to Artemis

[1] Himerius, *Or.*, 14, 10. [2] Pindar, *Ol.* 3, 25 ff. [3] *Pyth.* 10, 29 ff. [4] IV, 32 ff.

the Queen. They were brought, as the Delians related, originally by two maiden messengers, Hyperoche and Laodike, escorted by five men from the Hyperborean folk. Later the cereal offering was brought only to the border of a country, to be received and carried to the confines of the next land; and so passing from territory to territory the sacred objects finally reached Delos, handed on from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians, then by the successive tribes toward the west as far as the Adriatic; then southward to Epirus and Dodona, then on to the Gulf of Malis and Euboea, then to city after city, proceeding to Karystos, Tenos, and Delos. The maidens, according to Herodotus, came to bring to Eileithuia the offering due her for the speedy birth of the children of Leto; with them came Arge and Opis who had their special honors. The maidens who honor the swift ending of the travail of the goddess and their companions have names that are all cult-titles[1] to which may be added that of Hekaerge given by Pausanias[2] as the companion of Opis. Oupis according to the *Etymologicum Magnum*[3] has her name which is a title for Artemis, because she watches, ὀπίζεσθαι, over women in child-birth. The names all point to the moon who measures the time of bearing for primitive women.

The coming of Apollo and Artemis from the Hyperboreans and the identity of cereal offering made to both indicate the worship of the two deities as life-giving aspects of the Sun and Moon worship, which was concerned with increase of human life. The idealization of the life of their northern worshippers on the steppes is anticipated by Homer, who represents Zeus turning his eyes from the plain of Troy toward Thrace, the Danubian

[1] Farnell, *Cults*, IV, 101. [2] Paus., V, 7, 8; Plat., *Axiochus*, p. 371.

[3] This is an impossible derivation, but the reference to the birth-goddess is significant. The Etymologicum Magnum gives Oupis, Hekaerge, and Loxo as the names of the Hyperborean maidens.

Mysians, the Horse-Milkers and the Abii, "justest of men." The Iliad knows of this blameless folk living near the Milkers of Mares, but makes no mention of the Hyperboreans. Herodotus reports that Hesiod wrote about the Hyperboreans, as did "Homer in the Epigoni, if Homer really composed that epic." The Hymn to Dionysus speaks of them as the opposite of Egypt and Cyprus in geographical position:—"I think that he will come to Egypt or Cyprus, or to the Hyperboreans or yet beyond them." This seems to be a general way of expressing the direction south-north. So Herodotus thinks of that direction when he says that there must be Hypernotions, people dwelling beyond the wind Notos, if there are Hyperboreans, people dwelling beyond the wind Boreas.

The thought behind the Delphian belief was clearly that during the winter[1] months when Apollo was in the Hyperborean country, he made it bloom by his presence, and his return to Delphi in the month Bysios, which marked the revival of nature in the spring, was greeted with a festival of rejoicing. Artemis is said by Diodorus (in the feigned tale of Medea by which she cheated the daughters of Pelias) to come from the Hyperboreans to bring good—παρεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι.[2]

It is generally acknowledged that the Delphian Hyperboreans originate in the Balkan countries, and that the Delian cult adopted the Delphian story. The offering of the ἀπαρχαί coming from the distant lands and the "hypostases" of Artemis, who are alleged to have come as messengers and to be buried in Delos are the chief traditions which we have from the Delian worship, which, as Mannhardt and others have pointed out, had

[1] Nillson, *Griech. Fest.*, 158: "Er musste sich während des Winters irgendwo aufhalten."

[2] IV, 51.

an agrarian character. The offerings concealed in the corn-stalk, made to Apollo on Delos and to Artemis Basileia in the Balkan countries, have already been noted in my discussion of the goddess as a tribute to the deities of fruitfulness and increase. The old idea[1] that amber was the sacred thing hidden in the corn-stalk has not found acceptance among recent scholars.[2]

An exhaustive study of the Hyperborean legends and an examination of the various theories concerning them is made in the article by Daebritz entitled "Hyperboreer" in Pauly-Wissowa's Lexikon. To this is now added the long and learned article on Ῥίπαια ὄρη by Kiessling in the same lexicon. Daebritz sums up his conclusions as follows:

"All that antiquity tells us about the Hyperboreans goes back to the Delphian and the Delian story. The legend of the Hyperboreans at Delphi is rooted in the cult of souls and in the belief that blessed spirits lead a life in a paradise of happiness with Apollo. In Delos, on the contrary, we find practically only an agrarian procession. Both cults point to Thrace and the Balkans: the names of the Delphian Hyperboreans as well as details of the Delian ritual. Both are held together by the unity of the Greek tradition in the Apollo cult and through the connections, emphasized by Usener, of the epiphany of the Delphian god and the coming of Leto to Delos with the winter dwelling of the Sun-God, who will bestow new blessings for the harvest. No certainty prevails with regard to the unity of both cults. Was there an original unity or a transference of the Delphian name and belief to the Delian rites, or is there some other method of harmonizing the two?"

Daebritz follows Schroeder in his interpretation of the name Hyperborean. Both these scholars hold that the

[1] Tozer, *Hist. Anc. Geogr.*, p. 32, advocates this theory.
[2] Daebritz, *P. W.*, *s.v. Hyperboreer.*

word is compounded of ὑπέρ in the sense of above and of βόρα—Slavic *gora*— = mountain; they believe that a Thracian conception of a spirit-land high above the cloud-mountains, over the Thracian fields, in which a blessed folk of souls of their dead ancestors lived in heaven, had come to the Greeks, finally losing its meaning and leaving in its stead only the tale of a happy tribe of men beyond the north wind, who were servants of Apollo. The derivation of Hyperborean suggested by Ahrens, which Dr. Farnell called by far the most interesting contribution made by philology to the study of Greek religion, is shown by Daebritz, following Günther and Schroeder, to be untenable; for the preposition ὑπέρ does not express transmission; παρά is the word that has that function; further the name of the Macedonian month Ὑπερβερεταῖος, which plays a large part in this interpretation, really refers to Zeus Hyperberetaios, i.e. the Exalted, and has no reference to the transmission of offerings in this month. Daebritz compares the title of Hermes περφεραῖος in the Thracian Ainos, which evidently means Mighty or Exalted, with the word περφερέες, used by Herodotus for those who brought the gifts. This word has been understood by those who support the interpretation of Ahrens to mean "those bearing the gifts about." It appears rather to be explained in the Herodotean passage by the words following it—μεγάλας τιμὰς ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες.

Kiessling[1] accepts the derivation and explanation given by Daebritz and Schroeder, but stresses the point that the belief in the heaven high above the mountains, in which the souls of the blessed dead lived with their lord Apollo, had entirely disappeared from the Greek thought of the Hyperboreans even in the sixth century B. C., in which period the Hyperboreans were regarded

[1] *P. W., s.v.* Ὑπερβόρεοι Ὄρη.

by a false etymology as living behind the North Wind and as the inhabitants of the farthest North.

The derivation from ὑπέρ and Macedonian βέρω for φέρω, giving the sense of Bearers or Transmitters and equivalent to περφερέες, explained in the same way, has been overthrown by the criticisms of Daebritz, Günther, and Schroeder; but the explanation of the Hyperboreans as a folk of departed spirits living in Heaven, advocated by Daebritz and Kiessling, following Schroeder, is not in accord with the "immortalizing" belief of the Getae[1] in Thrace. They believed that their blessed dead went to Salmoxis in a dwelling beneath the earth. The muse in the play of Euripides prophesies such immortality for her son Rhesus:

κρυπτὸς δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς
ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος,
Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν
ᾤκησε σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός.

"Alone forever, in a caverned place
Of silver-veinèd earth, hid from men's sight,
A man yet spirit, he shall live in light:
As under far Pangaeum Orpheus lies,
Priest of great light and worshipped of the wise."

The "heaven" or paradise of the Thracians thus appears to have been *under* the earth and the mountains, rather than above them. I do not know of any authority for the Thracian Cloud Paradise which is postulated by the translation of Hyperborean by "above the mountains," in the sense of "in the clouds" or "above the cloud mountains." The dependence of both Hyperborean and Boreas on the word bora (Sclavic gora), mountain, is indisputable, but it is more in accord with folk-psychology and with what we know of the Thracian and Greek beliefs to place

[1] Hdt. IV, 93, 96.

this imaginary happy folk in some indefinite region of fancy behind the mountains rather than above the clouds. The Balkan lands, Thrace, Macedonia, Locris, Thessaly are, as Farnell says,[1] "full of Hyperborean tradition." He concludes from the evidence about the "Hyperborean" North Greeks that "the central point of the earliest North Greek Apolline ritual was Delphi, that the sacred way from Tempe thitherward was the route of the first Hyperborean offerings, and that this may have corresponded more or less with the line of the earliest southward migrations of the worshippers of Apollo."

In this connection the passage in the fourth book of Herodotus, so often quoted, in which he gives the course of the sacred things bound in the corn-stalk on their way to Delos and the coincidence of these with the offering of Thracian and Paeonian women to Artemis Basileia, is of great importance for the religion from which the Hyperborean myth sprang. The word "bora," on which Schroeder's etymology rests, occurs only in Livy 45, 29, in the passage in which the Roman division of Macedonia is described. "Bora"[2] is there given as the name of the mountain which divides the district which had Pella for its chief city from the fourth district with Pelagonia for its *caput regionis*. This district is "regio trans Boram montem, una parte confinis Illyrico, altera Epiro." Its chief city was Pelagonia, formerly a name given to the whole district, afterward called by the Greeks Herakleia Lynkestis, and now Monastir, always an important place for military and commercial reasons. In Iliad 21, 141 and 159 the eponym of the land, Pelagon, appears as the father of the Paeonian prince Asteropaios and as the son of the river Axios. The place was the twelfth (or eleventh) station from Dyrrachium

[1] *Cults*, IV, 104–105.

[2] "Tertia pars facta, quam Axius ab oriente, Peneus amnis ab occasu cingunt: ad septentrionem Bora mons objicitur."

on the famous Via Egnatia, which has been described as the expression of Rome's *Drang nach Osten*. Livy speaks of the *fauces Pelagoniae* as a crucial position in warfare. On the southern slopes of the mountain range called Bora by Livy, usually called Bermios or Bermion, were the rose-gardens of Midas, and from this fertile and metalliferous region many myths drifted down to Greece, among the most famous that of the Pierian nymphs, whose home country reached back to the "snowy Paeonians."

Crusius interprets Bermios as the holy mountain "to which the gifts were carried," deriving the name from the Macedonian form of φέρω. This is very doubtful, but the importance of the place for the Apolline worship and for trade along the road reaching from Apollonia to Byzantium through Macedon and Thrace is obvious. The people who live beyond the Bora sent their offerings to the new seats of their God Apollo. That is a tangible fact. The Greek ignorance of places to the north is acknowledged by Herodotus, who, knowing that amber and tin actually come from the depths of Europe, yet knows nothing of the northern geography. And this ignorance led to myths and poetry about the western and northern track of the sun, where he had his stable for his horses in the twilight of the Molossian sky.[1] To guard against possible misunderstanding I wish to make it clear that I am not giving the Hyperboreans any fixed home. They were, in my opinion, an entirely imaginary folk, whose origin came from the natural idealization of unknown peoples, those who dwell "just beyond the limits of knowledge."[2] The myth grew from such a simple form of it as is seen in the thirteenth book of the Iliad, where the unknown Abii of the steppes living near the Mare-Milkers are called the most righteous of men. It is likely that the Sun and the Moon, in some

[1] Eur., *Alc.*, 593*f*. [2] *Cf.* Shewan, *C.Q.* XIII (1919), p. 66–67.

developed aspects of them, such as those of Apollo and Artemis Basileia among the Thracians, were worshipped all along the trade-routes, often known as amber-routes, leading from the central part and the north of Europe to the Adriatic and the Balkan lands. The contacts with the north were vague and casual, even for Herodotus, as we have seen. The Paeonians and Thracians in general were doubtless the transmitters of the story, as recent authorities agree, whatever their derivation of the name Hyperboreans may be. In his article on the date of Hesiod T. W. Allen shows clearly the influence of the southern Thracians on lower Greece. These "mountaineers, descending either in one flood, or in various streams, from the Haliacmon" brought with them a form of music, an art of healing, and many myths connected with their local worships. "By Hesiod's time the Πίερες, southern Thracians—to Homer a mere landmark like Emathia between Olympus and Athos—had sent their muses, friends of Thamyris, southward."[1] And by Hesiod's time too, as Mr. Allen does not fail to note, the myth of the Hyperboreans had reached the south. The northern lands were full of strange and monstrous beings according to the tales found in Greek literature: the Centaurs, the Titans, the giants of Almopia on the Bora, and the giants of Pelagonia are among such. It is not strange that poets made a radiant picture from some folk tale about the lord Apollo and the blessed place where he sojourned during his absence in winter.[2] And as the sun each night sank behind the mountains to the place where he stabled his steeds in the twilight sky of the Molossians, his people, with the vagueness in the points of the compass which characterizes the early Greeks, were placed in the dim background in the west and in the north.

[1] *J. H. S.* 35, 1914, p. 95.

[2] Nillson, *Griech. Fest.*, p. 158: "He had to stay somewhere during the winter."

Later the name distinctly means northern—for example in Pliny,[1] *per Hyperboreos et Britanniam*. Hecataeus of Abdera, from whom Diodorus derives the well-known passage about the land and island of the Hyperboreans, did not hesitate to state that the place still existed in his time, which was that of Alexander the Great and the first Ptolemy. The name of the island he gave as Helixoia. According to Diodorus he said it was as large as Sicily and in the Ocean opposite Celtica[2]. Diodorus quotes Hecataeus and others as saying that the island ὑπάρχειν κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους and that the moon was very close to it. He says that the Hyperboreans have their own dialect, that many Greeks have visited their island and left inscriptions written in Greek characters as well as costly gifts. The place described by him so romantically and so definitely has often been identified with England. In accord with the Euhemeristic tendency of his time Hecataeus of Abdera has, as Jacoby says, brought the Hyperboreans out of the vague and into fixed geographical surroundings. The course of the myth has been from the poetic fancy of the early period to the exact and invented statements of the Euhemeristic school. Helixoia and Panchaea have much in common.

Miss Harrison's[3] statement of the "contamination" of the old myth and new knowledge is so illuminating that I quote it here:—"But to the making of the Hyperborean myth went another bora, sheltering another garden of the Sun, Φοίβου παλαιὸς κῆπος, which I would ask Professor Macurdy to consider. Pauly-Wissowa's lexicon has happily embarked on a second series beginning with R and concealed under Ῥίπαια Ὄρη is an account of the *Heilige Götterberg im Norden*, behind which the Sun after setting in the west was supposed to pass to the east.

[1] VI, 29. [2] Diodorus II, 47; Steph. Byz. s. v.
[3] *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1917, p. 96.

This astronomical and of course purely imaginative northern bora puts a new complexion on many an old confusion, on the myths not only of Hyperboreans but of Kimmerians and Atlas. The bora of myth gets contaminated with the bora of fact, like contamination of hero and daimon."

Kiessling in his remarkable and definitive article on the Rhipaean Mountains makes it clear that these mountains were not an original part of the Hyperborean myth. Through the speculations of astronomers and geographers the Hyperboreans were pushed up ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον and behind the astronomical mountains of the North. "Behind the mountain," Kiessling says, "was the domain of the Great Bear, which the Sun crosses to return from his setting to his rising, *cum relaturus diem septentrionum accesserit confinia.*"

The name Helixoia, given by Hecataeus of Abdera as that of the Hyperborean island, is probably an invention of the Hellenistic time, in which the name Helike, so common in later writers, was given to both the Great and the Little Bear. There is evidently a connection with ἕλιξ and ἑλίσσω, both of which are used to describe the movements of the sun and the stars. The verb ἑλίσσω occurs in the Iliad in the sense of turning the horses of the chariot around the τέρμα. Heracleitus speaks of the Bear as the limit of Dawn and Dark:—ἠοῦς καὶ ἑσπερίης τέρματα ἄρκτος. I suggest that the name Ἑλίξοια for the island κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, constellations which in the period of Hecataeus had the name Helike, may have been invented for the place where the Sun turns his steeds about this northern τέρμα. Or it may be that the name Helixoia was derived from Helike, the Hellenistic name of the Bear constellations.

The Hyperboreans, then, Folk behind the Mountain, were in the more *naif* time of folk fancy, thought

of as nearer than in the time of geographical and astronomical knowledge. As fanciful at first as the inhabitants of a haunted forest or lake, "they were shifted further and further away as geographical knowledge increased."[1]

The Hyperborean legend developed from the absence of the Sun in winter and his return in the spring to the people who imagined that where he had gone

> Ὑπέρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονὸς
> νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχὰς
> Φοίβου τε παλαιὸν κῆπον—,

he was greeted by his worshippers with songs and music more lovely than those with which his return was welcomed at Delphi and other seats of his worship, and that he had bestowed upon those lands more lovely bloom and growth of nature than that which came to the Balkan lands in the spring. The gifts that were sent to Delphi came by way of the Adriatic and Dodona, by one of the many routes from the North. Herodotus names Scythia and the intervening place between the Adriatic and the Hyperboreans. "The Scythians ruled the whole region of the South Russian steppes" and there is "conclusive evidence that in the sixth century there were compact bodies of Scythians dwelling in Hungary."[2] Herodotus in his account of the Hyperboreans says that the Scythians of the steppes knew nothing of them and that their ignorance was shared by their neighbors. The Issedones may, he says, have something to tell about the Hyperboreans, but he doubts it.

Tomaschek by accepting the erroneous position of the Issedones given by Ptolemy puts the tribes of Herodotus IV, 21–25 far to the east and identifies the Hyperboreans with the Chinese. Gladisch also made this identification, relying on similarities of musical taste and the derivation

[1] How and Wells, Hdt., IV, 32. [2] Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 42 ff.

of Hyperborean griffins from the dragons in the Chinese flag. The celestial calm of the Chinese[1] has been thought to be reflected in Hyperborean happiness. But this theory has not found many followers of late and the rival hypothesis that Hecataeus of Abdera had England and the civilization of the Stonehenge builders in mind is at least as probable. Of the latter Daebritz remarks, "Das der belesene Hekataios mit seiner willkürlichen Lagebestimmung von Helixoia dunkle oder halbdunkle Kunde von britannischen Verhältnissen verbunden haben kann, ist natürlich möglich." Daebritz[2] and Kiessling, as I have said, follow Schroeder in their hypothesis of a land of departed spirits above the Bora, above the Thracian mountains.

The name of the Hyperborean Karambukai, cited from Hecataeus by Stephen of Byzantium, is the same as that of the river of the Celtic promontory mentioned by Pliny:—"ab extremo aquilone ad initium orientis aestivi Scythae sunt. Extra eos ultraque aquilonis initia Hyperboreos aliqui posuere, pluribus in Europa dictos. Primum inde noscitur promontorium Celticae Lytharmis, fluvius Carambucis." This is evidently the part of the world where Celtica and Scythia meet.[3] Diodorus[4] when writing of the sources of tin and amber says that amber is gathered in the island Basileia opposite Scythia which lies πελαγία κατὰ τὸν 'Ωκεανόν. Pliny also writes of an island Baunonia in the North Sea, over against Scythia.

If then the myth of the Hyperboreans arose, as Daebritz, Kiessling and others believe, among the Thracians, in the wide sense of that word, Hyperborean at first did not signify distinctly and absolutely north, as the name arose in a time when the points of the compass were indi-

[1] Casson in *C.R.*, XXXIV, 1920, p. 3.

[2] *P. W.*, 9[1], sp. 268: "Hoch über den Wolkenbergen, über der Bora, dem thrakischen Gebirge, lag das selige Land der Thraker, dem Νύσιον vergleichbar."

[3] *Cf.* Strabo, I, 7. [4] V, 23.

cated more vaguely—e.g. "to Egypt and Cyprus or the Hyperboreans." The confusion is great about the position of the garden of the Hesperides, which was placed now in the west and now in the north;[1] it was the "Garden of the Daughters of Evening." Boreas is the wind of the Mountain, and "behind the mountain" is vaguely "to the north"—ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονός. Herodotus[2] calls the northern parts from which tin and amber come ἐξ ἐσχάτης. Hyperborean became an excellent term for the use of poets, astronomers and geographers, in the end reaching the north pole and, when ignorance about "the depths of Europe," to which Herodotus confesses, was somewhat dispelled, the blossoming meadows of the Hyperboreans and the singing swans gave way to tales of Hyperborean ice and fields of frozen snow.

Rostovtzeff[3] says that Greek mythology always connected the Black Sea, the Euxine, with the land of departed spirits. "The White Island of Achilles, the land of the Hyperboreans, the Crimea, were at once real countries and regions peopled with the souls of heroes."

Many and varied strands went to the weaving of the Hyperborean myths,—*naif* folk belief, religion and fertility ceremonies and offerings, poetry and song, trade and commerce and the strange tales diffused by travellers for commerce; finally the attempts of astronomers and geographers to understand the shape of the earth and the disposition of its lands and their relation to the heaven and the constellations. In this final stage, as Kiessling remarks, the old myth of the Hyperboreans is regarded with the eye of the geographer. In the time of Sophocles the poet still can sing of the girl bride carried off by the North Wind "beyond the sea, where at the ends of the earth and the springs of Night the sky unfolds on the ancient garden of Phoebus."

[1] Pearson, Sophocles, *Fragments*, III, p. 118, p. 956. [2] III, 115.
[3] *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 36.

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN MUSES AND SPIRITS OF THE WATER

Water, first of singers, o'er rocky mount and mead,
First of earthly singers, the sun-loved rill,
Sang of him, and flooded the ripples on the reed,
Seeking whom to waken and what ear fill.
Water, sweetest soother to kiss a wound and cool,
Sweetest and divinest the sky-born brook,
Chuckled, with a whimper, and made a mirror-pool
Round the guest we welcomed, the strange hand shook.

—Phoebus with Admetus.

'Tis Apollo comes leading
His choir, the Nine.

They bathe on this mountain
In the spring by their road;
Then on to Olympus
Their endless abode.

—Song of Callicles.

MISS Harrison[1] has established the connection of the Charites, Givers of Life, ζωθάλμιοι, and the Horae of the Many Blossoms, πολυάνθεμοι,[2] with the phases of the Moon, waxing, full and waning, and with the dew charms and rain charms of which we have the direct reflection and projection in the Dew Sisters of the Acropolis, Pandrosos, Herse, and the Well-nymph Aglauros. "In Athens the Charites were worshipped under the names Auxo (Increaser) and Hegemone (Leader) and these were invoked, Pausanias says, together with the Horae of Athens, Thallo (Sprouting) and Karpo (Fruit) and the Dew-Goddess, Pandrosos. Among many primi-

[1] *Themis*, pp. 192 ff. [2] Pindar, *Ol.* 7, 11, 31; *Ol.* 13, 17.

tive peoples the waxing and waning of the moon is supposed to bring increase to all living things." To the Charites and Horae we may add the Muses, who are in origin well-spirits and spirits of water-springs, and are invoked to enrich the fields; they are often identical in function with the Charites. In the fourteenth Olympian ode of Pindar he invokes the famous Charites of Orchomenos in verse that is as appropriate to Muses—

"Charites of lovely Orchomenos, her queens, sung by her bards, who have your dwelling in a land of noble horses by Kephissos water, watchers over the Minyans from of old, hear me when I pray. For from you comes all joy and sweetness for mankind, whether a man be wise or beautiful or splendid. Not without the holy Charites do the Gods ordain a dance or feast; but apportioners of all things in Heaven, with your seats at the side of Apollo of the Golden Bow, the Pythian god, you honor the eternal glory of the Father of Olympus.

"O Lady Aglaia, and Euphrosyne, lover of dance and song, and Thalia, lover of Song, daughters of the God most High, give ear and let your eyes behold with blessing this singing band as it dances with light step onward."

Pindar invokes the Charites to inspire his song more often than the Muses, without doubt because of the famous cult of Orchomenos, and at Delos the Charites are attendants of Apollo. Hesiod also gives the names of the three Charites as Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and lovely Thaleia. The name Thaleia, akin in root and meaning to the name of the Hora, Thallo, "sprouting," belongs to a Nereid,[1] and to a Charis, and a Muse. Aglauros of the "trinity of dew and water" worshipped on the Acropolis has a name that Maass[2] has interpreted as Shining Water, ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ, regarding the nymph as a well-spirit. The Aglaia of Orchomenos has a name from the same adjec-

[1] *Il.* 18, 39. [2] *A.M.*, XXXV, 3, p. 337 (cited by Miss Harrison, *Themis*, p. 174.)

tive and the sisterhood of Aglaia and Thaleia, the nymph of Gleaming Water and the nymph of Sprouting, was inevitable. The adjectives φιλησίμολπος and ἐρασίμολπος, applied by Pindar to the Charites, have in them roots of the words which gave names to Erato and Melpomene among the Muses. Erato may be a short form of Erasimolpe.

The verses of Hesiod[1] about the Muses of Helikon give a picture of the spring-nymphs with their dances and singing, which originally were charms to bring the rain and the dew and afterward the charms to inspire the poet to sing his song. "Let us begin our song from the Muses of Helikon, who hold the high and holy hill of Helikon and around its spring, whose water gleams dark like the iris flower, and about the altar of mighty Zeus they dance with delicate feet and bathe their soft bodies in Termessos or in the Spring of the Horse or in the water of Olmeios."

Several of the names of the Attic muses refer to dance and song,—Terpsichore, Melpomene, Kleio, Polymnia; these would be originally the personified dances and songs of the maidens who called upon the spirits of the springs and streams to give abundant water for herds and flocks and for the growth of the fields. Thaleia, one of the Muses, as has been said, is like the Hora Thallo, the Growth itself.

The connection of the Muses with "Water, first of singers" was established by Decharme in his thesis, *Les Muses*, published in 1869, and by Roediger, who follows Decharme closely, in the eighth supplementary volume of Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für Philologie* for 1876. Many of the epithets of the Muses are derived from springs, for example, the titles Pimpleiades, Leibethrides, Pierides. The Muses presided over Peirene in Corinth and the springs Castalia and Cassotis at Delphi. Helikon, "with

[1] *Theog.*, 1 ff.

its foot abounding in springs," and the spring Aganippe on the left of the precinct of the Muses gave them one of their most famous names, Heliconian. The titles of the Muses are apt to connote either fruitfulness, as Pierides, or moisture, as Leibethrides. Since Dionysus is a god of saps and juices, it is natural to find the worship of the Muses and Dionysus closely bound together, and according to Hesychius Dionysus has the title Leibenus, or Pourer, evidently from the same verb as that from which is derived the name of Leibethron on Mount Olympus, the watery home of the Muses.[1]

Miss Harrison has shown the connection of the Dew-Festival, the Hersephoria,[2] which took place in the Pandroseion on the night of the last full moon of the Attic year, with charms whose intent was "to induce the sky to let fall on the parched earth its rain or dew, so that the sacred olive and with it all other plants might blossom and bear fruit." In a fragment ascribed to Alcman[3] the dew is called "son of Moon and Air that makes the deer-grass to grow." "The Hersephoria," writes Miss Harrison, "was to induce the fall of fertilizing dew." Now the name Kalliope, which is ordinarily derived from the beautiful voice, ὀπί καλῇ, of the singing muses,[4] is really of the same formation as the other names ending in -ope, such as Antiope, Agriope, Rhodope, Sterope, Merope, Dryope, etc. These all come from ὄψ, the face. Antiope appears in Cicero[5] as the mother of the Thracian muses, who were daughters of Pieros. She was the wife of Helios according to Eumelos and her name has been explained as an epithet of the moon. The name of Agriope or Argiope, who was the first wife of Orpheus, shows the same formation and has been recognized as denoting the baleful (or the bright) aspect of the moon. Here

[1] This evidence with much more of the same sort is adduced by Decharme and Roediger.

[2] *Themis*, 173 f. [3] *Lyra Graeca*, Edmonds, 1, p. 48.

[4] *Il.* 1, 604; *Od.* 24, 60. Hesiod, *Th.* 68. [5] *N. D.*, 3, 21.

we have three names, obviously alike in formation, Antiope, Kalliope, Agriope, belonging to the same genealogy:—Antiope called mother of the Thracian muses, Kalliope the most excellent of her daughters, who was mother of Orpheus, "The Dark," and the wife of Orpheus, Agriope. All are moon-epithets.[1]

In the Theogony[2] of Hesiod where the names of the Muses are given Kalliope is called the foremost of all; it is she who attends on kings. Immediately after this statement the poet says that the Muses pour dew on the tongues of kings, who give justice and upright laws to their peoples. The phrase here may be accidental and of poetic value only, but in view of the rain charms and dew charms[3] in the ritual of the Dew Sisters on the Acropolis and of the Charites, it is likely that Pindar's use of dew as a metaphor in connection with the Charites and song is a reminiscence of Dew Worship. The passage in the fifth Isthmian, "They water their clan with the dew of the Charites," inevitably suggests the dew cult which brought increase from the Charites. Kalliope, who pours dew upon the tongues of kings, has her name from the moon the mother of the dew.

ὅσα Διὸς θυγάτηρ
ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ δίας Σελάνας.

"Such things as are nursed by the dew that is the daughter of Zeus and the divine Moon."[4]

In his examination of the names of the Muses Roediger calls attention to the name of Thaleia as a goddess of fertility and speaks of Erato and Ourania as names that have no connection with music and poetry. It may be noted that Ourania is the name of one of the water nymphs in the passage in Hesiod[5] in which the poet tells of the nymphs who bring youths to manhood with the help of the Rivers and Apollo.

[1] *Cf. Themis*, 392[2]. [2] 77 ff. [3] *Themis*, 173–4.
[4] Alcman, *Lyra Graeca*, I, 1, 48. [5] *Th.*, 350.

The Charites and the Horae do not in general leave their original nature so far behind as do the Muses. The first conception of the Charites, as Gruppe says, was certainly not the idea of loveliness and still less of gratitude, and in their worship and in their association with Hermes, god of flocks, they show the nature-goddess more clearly than the intellectualized Muses who finally at Delphi became the personification of the musical scale. It is universally recognized now that the Muses were once nymphs of the wild[1] and a derivation of their name that is generally accepted is that from *mons*, which through the form *montia* would finally result in *mousa* and in its various dialect forms μοῖσα, μῶσα, and μῦσα.[2] The connection with streams, springs and rivers is so strong, however, that the derivation from a root that means moist is psychologically more satisfactory. Such a root is seen in the word μωύς, which Hesychius defines as ἡ γῆ, Λύδιοι. He has also μῶϋ· τὸ ὕδωρ. Decharme following Bergk accepts the emendation of ἡ γῆ to πηγή, spring of water.

The word μωύς for earth or water may have been carried into Maeonia in early time by the Thracian settlers of whose coming there is so much evidence. The word moss in English has the sense of swamp, bog and soft moorland, examples of which are given by Skeat: Solway moss, Chat moss, etc., and in the derivatives mossland, mosstrooper. Skeat[3] connects moss in this

[1] "Les Muses auraient été primitivement les nymphes des montagnes et des eaux." Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. Musae*, Decharme, *op. cit.*, ch. 2, "Les Muses divinités des eaux."

[2] μῦσα. *Clementis Protr.*, p. 27 Μύσας κατὰ τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Αἰολέων.

[3] *Cf.* also Grimm, *s.v. Moos.* Grimm has a long and interesting note on Moos. He cites many examples of the "oberdeutsch" use of the word in the sense of swamp, for example, the following:—

der held sasz auf das kleine rosz,
reit dahin uber ein tief mos,
bis er kam in den grünen wald.
—*Teuerd.*, 41, 20.

und als er gieng uber ein steg
da fiel er hinab in das mos
und wart im mos pis an den hals versunken.
—*Meisterges.*, fol. 23., nr. 42.

sense with Latin *muscus* and Middle High German *mos*, a swamp, as well as with English mire. The name of the Danubian tribe of Moesi has been derived from Celtic *moese*,[1] swamp-land. The Moesi were transformed into Musi in Asia Minor. It has been suggested by Professor J. A. K. Thomson that the Muses were originally Μοισαί, i. e. nymphs of Moesia, and that under the Aeolic influence the accent receded so that the gentile adjective assumed the forms μοῖσαι, μῶσαι, etc. This appears highly probable, if we consider that the Muses were of "Thracian" origin and that they were, as Varro[2] notes, constantly given geographical names—"Caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum in Macedonia omnes, a quo potius puto Musas dictas Olympiades. Ita enim a terrestibus locis aliis cognominatae Libethrides, Pimpleiades, Heliconides." If then the Moesians along the Danube, whom Homer calls Μυσοί,[3] were "Men of the Moss or Bog-land," the Muses would be the nymphs of the Moss and they would correspond to the νύμφαι ἑλεονόμοι ποταμίδες, the Nymphs who haunt the marshes along the rivers, who appear in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius.[4]

The Muses were worshipped at rivers and were wives and mothers of rivers. At Athens there were Muses of the Ilissus; the Muse in the play "Rhesus" conceived her son when as she passed through the waters of the river Strymon the river-god clasped her. Her babe was given to no mortal hand to nurture but his father Strymon gave him to the nymphs of the spring. The Muses are called Oiagrides by Moschos,[5] Οἰαγρίδες κῶραι. The name Oiagros belongs to a Thracian river according to Servius.[6] The fragment of the "Marriage of Hebe" by Epicharmus gives river-names for the Muses, words which are doubtless the invention of the poet, but the

[1] Smith's Dictionary of Geography, *s.v. Mysia* [2] Varro, L. L., VII, 20.
[3] *Il.* 13, 5. [4] *Arg.* 2, 821; 3, 1219. [5] 3, 27. [6] Servius, on *Georg.*, IV, 524.

names at least indicate that the poet is counting on the folk-conception of the Muses as water-spirits. Epicharmus in this fragment calls the Muses the daughters of Pieros and Pimpleia and gives them the names Neilo, Tritone, Asopo, Heptapore, Achelois, Titoplo (?), Paktolo. In Troezen the Muses are called Ardalides, the "Waterers," which reminds us of the Charites in Orchomenos watering the tribes with their dews.

τὰν Ψαλυχιδᾶν δὲ πάτραν Χαρίτων
ἄρδοντι καλλίστῳ δρόσῳ.[1]

The Thracian character of the Muses is mentioned several times by Strabo. In his ninth book[2] he says of Helikon, "There is the shrine of the Muses and Hippou Krene and the cave of the nymphs Leibethrides; by this we may infer that the Thracians consecrated Helikon to the Muses, inasmuch as they dedicated Pieria, and Leibethron, and Pimpleia to these goddesses. These were Pierian Thracians who were succeeded in the possession of these localities by Macedonians." Again in the tenth book[3] he argues the Thracian and Asian character of rhythm and music from the places given over to the cult of the Muses. "For Pieria and Olympus, and Pimpla, and Leibethron were of old Thracian places and mountains, now held by the Macedonians. Helikon was consecrated to the Muses by Thracians who occupied Boeotia, who also consecrated the cave of the nymphs Leibethriades."

Several of the places mentioned by Strabo as seats of muse-worship are mountains, most important of these Olympus, from which the Muses are called Olympiades in Iliad 2, 491 and in the Hymn to Hermes 451. From this epithet[4] it has been argued, as I have said, that the name *mousa* comes from *mons*, through a hypothetical

[1] Pindar, *Isth.*, VI, 63 f. [2] IX, 410. [3] X, 471.
[4] Maass, *Hermes*, 31, 382 ff.: "Bergfrauen sind die Musen."

form *montia* or *monsa*, which would be equivalent in meaning to Olympiades, as *olympus* appears to be originally a general word for height, or mountain.

The derivation suggested by Professor Thomson appears to be more in accord with the "geographical" character of the usual titles of the Muses and, as I have said, if Moesi means Men of the Marsh, the Muses would then be the nymphs worshipped in the rich marshlands of the Mysians and Mare-milkers in Europe, to whose land Zeus is said to turn his gaze from the battlefield of Troy. As their worshippers came south and settled in Pieria on Olympus the nymphs of the marshes, Μοῖσαί or Μῦσαί, became Pierides and later, as their cult advanced into Greece they were called Heliconian.

Their number was probably two or three before they became nine. Even the Horae are nine in Hyginus and it is likely that the Muses belonged originally to the smaller group of Maiden-Trinities discussed by Miss Harrison in *Prolegomena*.[1] The three Dew Sisters Pandrosos, Aglauros, and Herse, got their names obviously from dew and the gleam of water. Thaleia of the Charites was named from sprouting vegetation, as were the Muse Thaleia and the Hora Thallo. That other names naturally come from the moon and heaven is clear after a reading of Miss Harrison's discussion of dew and the moon and the influence of the moon on vegetation. "Dew according to common credence, falls thickest on the night of the full moon, and the Hersephoria took place on the night of the last full moon of the Attic year. The maidens gathered their dew in the precinct of Ourania in the Gardens." It is not strange that a nymph of dews and springs should have the name Ourania, or that her sister should have the moon-title "Her of the fair face," Kalliope. The "fair-faced" moon is of course the full moon.

[1] *Prolegomena*, pp. 286–292.

"Among many primitive peoples the waxing and waning of the moon is supposed to bring increase and decrease to all living things. Only the lawless onion sprouts in the wane and withers in the waxing of the moon."[1] It was doubtless from her moon-name that Kalliope got her prestige. She was preeminent above all the rest, Hesiod says, and on the François vase[2] Kalliope is almost equal to Apollo himself and seems to dispute with him the rôle of leader of the choir.

Roediger believes that Kalliope is the Muse from whom the three and the nine Muses have developed. This he infers from her prominent position of choir-leader, as on the François vase, and his belief also rests on the derivation of Kalliope from ὄψ, the voice. I hope that I have made it sufficiently clear that her name must be derived from ὄψ, the face, as are all the many similar formations, Rhodope, Sterope, Antiope, etc., and that Antiope, Kalliope, and Agriope, to say nothing of others, are moon-epithets. Perhaps Thaleia, Sprouting, was the first-named Muse, and Kalliope, a development of the moon and dew ritual, the second.

Both Decharme and Roediger believe that the Muses and Charites were musical in origin and that they were personifications of rippling and rushing brooks of the mountains. Their investigations, which made clear the fact that the worship of Muses and Charites centred about streams and watery places, do not connect the development of the conceptions in question with the rituals and methods for dealing with nature which the scientific study of such phenomena has now demonstrated to have been a stage in the "religious" ideas and the "myths" of the Greeks and of all primitive peoples.

The common origin of Charites, Muses, and Horae has been so often set forth that it is unnecessary to add

[1] *Themis*, p. 192. [2] Decharme, *l.c.*

anything to that argument. Decharme, while seeing that the Muses and Charites are essentially the same, wishes to make the Charites goddesses of music from the start. In the light of modern investigation this is of course untenable, but that the Charites of Orchomenos did develop from the rain-charm and moon-cult nymphs into beings that preside over the poet's gift of song and music is evident from the worship in Delos and from the frequent appeals of the great Boeotian poet to them. Both Charites and Muses are found in the train of Dionysus. Through their association with Apollo, god of the paean and the ἐπῳδή, the Muses became the goddesses of song and poetry, "singing responsive with beautiful voice." Like Poseidon and Apollo they were an outgrowth of the northern nature-worship, of naive ritual which with song and dance summoned rain to fill the springs where the horse drank, Aganippe, Hippou Krene, and sought to bring down the dew to nourish the plants and to bring back the sun from the darkness. So they belong in reality with the sisterhood who bring men to manhood with the help of Apollo and the Rivers and they are akin to the Horae and the Charites and the Dew Sisters.

Their cult gave them the names Thaleia, "her who makes things grow" and Kalliope, "Of the Fair Face," taken from the moon, mother of the dew, and other names, Terpsichore, Melpomene, which came from the ritual dances.

"For the melting air drops the most dew at full moon, as the lyric poet Alcman implies when he says that the dew is daughter of the Air and the Moon.

" 'Such as are nursed by the dew that is the daughter of Zeus and the divine Moon.' "

Upon the corner of the moon
There hangs a vaporous drop profound;
I'll catch it ere it come to ground.

—*Shakespeare.*

The Muses are called πηγασίδες, nymphs of the spring, a title which strengthens Bergk's emendation of Hesychius' ἡ γῆ to πηγή, if we accept the connection of μοῦσα with μῶϋ, and with *muscus*, moss, moor, etc. As spring nymphs presiding over such springs as Cassotis, μοισᾶν ἁγνὸν ὕδωρ, they have the mantic gift. Halliday has abundance of examples in his chapter on "Divination at Sacred Springs" of the waters that inspired with prophecy those who drank of them, as the priestess at Delphi who drank of the spring Cassotis. He notes that it can hardly be doubted that the maddening draughts at magic fountains long preceded the advent of Apollo. Pindar says.—

μαντεύεο Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ,

The development of the Muses from the magic and divine spring is the result of what Halliday calls "a tendency in the history of religion to seek after a clear-cut personality to worship." I quote him further:—[1]"The vague nymphs or fairies take the place of the impersonal *mana* of the water, in their turn to be ousted by the more definite personalities of heroes or saints." In this way the Muses came into being and from their earliest names of Sprouting and "Her of Fair Face" (the Moon) to their latest of Nete, Mese, and Hypate, Low, Middle and High of the chords of the lyre, there is a progression away from the simple and poetic thought of the folk to the highly artificial symbolism of a literary period. In the relief from Thasos in the Louvre Apollo is leader of nymphs and Hermes meets his Charites. Here is a stage on the way to the Graces and Muses who drop their dew on the tongue of the singing poet. But the paean song is forbidden. Οὐ παιωνίζεται is carved in the inscription above the open door between Apollo and the three nymphs.

[1] Halliday, *Greek Divination*, p. 123 f.

Pausanias says[1] that the sons of Aloeus founded Ascra and first sacrificed to the Muses on Mount Helikon and that believing them to be three in number they named them Melete, Mneme, Aoide, Practice, Memory, and Singing. Then Pieros, who had perhaps, Pausanias says, learned from a Thracian, came to Thespiae with the cult of nine Muses. Some said that Pieros had nine daughters, whose names were those of the goddesses. It is as unlikely that the first Muses were named Practice, Memory and Singing as that they were named Low, Middle and High, as at Delphi. Rather such names as Growth and Blossoming, Auxo and Thaleia, like the Charites and Horae. But the old legends preserved in Pausanias are right in bringing the Pierides, Daughters of the Deep-soiled Land, from the north to Ascra and Thespiae. Hesiod saw his Muses while he was tending his flocks on the slope of Helikon. He has no good word to say of Ascra, his "wretched village, near Helikon," but the poetess of Boeotia, Korinna, has written of Thespiae, "of fair lineage, friend of the stranger, and loved by the Muses."

Θέσπια, καλλιγένεθλε, φιλόξενε, μωσαφίλητε.

A chorus in the *Ion*[2] of Euripides sing of the torchlight procession of the sacred twentieth day of the moon month (a day from which Apollo got the name Eikadios) beside the springs of the lovely dances when the star-faced aether of Zeus begins the dance and the Moon dances, and the fifty daughters of Nereus, who in perpetual maidenhood live in the sea and about the streaming rivers, dance in honor of the Mother and the Maid.

The springs of the lovely dances καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς, suggest the origin of the Muse Terpsichore. There was a well Kallichoros[3] in Eleusis, about which women danced in honor of Demeter.

[1] IX, 29, 1. [2] *Ion*, 1080 ff. [3] Eur., *Suppl.*, 392.

The Moon and the nymphs of the river and of the sea here dance together in honor of Earth Mother for

> "furrow and seed,
> The burial, birth of the grain,
> The growth and the showers that feed,
> And the green blades waxing mature
> For the husbandman's armful brown."

And so the Horae, Charites, and Muses, like their sisters the water-nymphs of the rivers and the sea, dance with the Moon about the springs and wells. The water-nymphs, daughters of Ocean and Tethys, are fifty, the daughters of Nereus and Doris, daughter of Ocean, are fifty, a number which, so far as I am aware, has not been explained. The Danaids, who were also well-maidens, are said by Cornford[1] to be doubles of the fifty daughters of the Moon and Endymion, who represent the fifty moon months of the *penteteris*, a reconciliation of the old Hellenic moon year with the sun year. The Nereids and the Oceanids do not detach themselves from their element, but the Muses going over to the service of the sun god Apollo share with him the glory of the poet's song and music, named from them. At first they were water-spirits dancing to the moon and "bringing youth to manhood with the help of Lord Apollo and the Rivers."

[1] *Themis*, 232.

INDEX

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—α stems, plant names, 35
Abantes, military tactics, 48; Elephenor, 72; Trojan war, 81
Abas, 73, 79, 81
Abii, 199, 204
Abydos, Demokoon, 74
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, excavations at Yortan, 24
Achaeans, builders of the Greek wall, 3–4; culture, 69–70, 95–96; hair-dressing, 72; legend of Pieria, 87; nature-worship, 88; and Macedonians, 95
Achelois (Muses), 218
Achelous river, 13, 125
Achilles, animal sacrifice, 12; and Scamander, 14; and Sarpedon, 19; and Iphition, 27; and Agenor, 39; and Aeneas, 41–42; battle between the Trojans and Myrmidons, 49–50; horses, 59–60, 67, 121; genealogy, 65; and Patroklos, 83; fight with the river-worshippers, 84–86; taught healing by Cheiron, 100; medicinal use of the peony, 107–108; armor, 170; Crimea, 210
Acropolis, Erichthonios, 70, 120; dew-goddesses, 211–212, 215
Adamas, origin of name, 73, 117, 194–195
Admete, 66
Admetus, genealogy, 66, 124; Hades, 79; and Apollo, 121; serpents sent by Artemis, 131–132; and Alkestis, 149; origin of name, 195
Adonis (Anchises), 45
Adramyttium, trade, 20; road to Cyzicus, 23
Adrastos, shrine of Hera (Alexandra), 186
Adriatic, route of amber trade, 176, 178, 205, 208
Aeacides, 21
Aegaeans, and Danubians, 11; besieging Troy, 43; culture, 58; and Achaeans, 95
Aegiale, 121
Aegis, preservation of Hector's body, 5
Aelfred, Athelwulfing, 118
Aelian, peony-magic, 103–104; and Aleuas, 187
Aemilius Paulus, 52
Aeneas, protected by the gods, 4 40–42, 101, 126; genealogy, 10–11, 39, 43–44, 55, 61, 119; and Diomede, 29; Trojan leader, 32, 84; horses of, 59, 64, 67; and Deikoon, 74; healed by Leto and Artemis, 151
Aeneia (city), 43
Aenona, 153
Aenos, landing of Herakles, 34, 36; caravan route, 42; and Aeneas, 43; origin of name, 79
Aeolic Sisyphus, 32; κράννα, 35; Perramos, 69
Aeropos, 75, 93

Aeschylus, *The Mysians* (play), 34; river-worship, 89; 117, 121; Artemis, 132, 134; Themis and Gaia, 137; Persephone and Artemis, 144–145; μαλλός; *Bassarids*, 160, 166; *Xantriae*, 161–163; Phaethon amber myth, 178; ἀλεύω, 169–170, 185
Aesepus, cult, 37 foot-note
Aesepus river, 4, 13, 18, 20, 22–24, 26–28, 30–31, 34, 37, 122, 125, 129
Aetolia, horses, 60; Hermes cult, 190
Africa, modern rain-sacrifice, 140–141; sun and moon myths, 156
Agamemnon, address to the Trojans, 17; gift of a mare from Echepolos, 39, 64, 122; and Achilles, 49; and Atreus, 66; and Oileus, 66; genealogy, 74; Trojan war, 81
Aganippe, 214, 221
Agapenor, 48, 72
Agarista and Diaktorides, 192
Agasthenes, 124
Agastrophos, 79
Agathyrsi, 30
Agelaos, 78, 118–119
Agenor, protected by Apollo, 39, 41; origin of name, 71–72
Agesilaos, 79
ἄγχι- (Anchises), 45
ἀγχέμαχοι (closefighting), 38, 48, 50
ἀγχιμαχηταί (closefighting) 38, 46–48, 50
ἀγχίθεος (Anchises), 46
ἀγκυλότοξοι (Paeonians), 28, 83
Aglaia, 212–213
ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ, shining water, 212
ἀγλαοφωτίς (peony), 103
Aglauros, well-nymph, 211–212; origin of name, 219
ἀγρία μέλισσα, Tenthredon, 36
Agriani, 96
Agriope (Moon), 143–144; 214–215, 220
Aguieus, fertility of the Earth, 128
Ahrens, derivation of Hyperborean, 201
Aias, 80
Ἀΐδης, the Unseen Sun, 112, 115
Aidoneus, lord of the shades, 120
Aigle (Moon), 143
Ainios, 79, 201
Ainippos (Aeneas), 43–44
αἰολόπωλοι (Phrygians), 60
Aipytos, tomb of, 48, 72
Ajax, and Mastor, 76
Akamas, 39
Akarnania, seers of, 182
ἀκέομαι, healing, 101, 115, 195
Akesios (Alexikakos), 115
Akeso, worship of, 101, 154
Akessamenos, 84, 100–101, 195
Akestor (Apollo), 115, 195
ἀλαλκεῖν (Alkestis), 145
Alastor, 76, 78, 119
Alcaeus, 196–197
Alcestis. *See* Alkestis
Alcman, 35; dew, 142, 214, 221
Alea and Aleuas, 185–188
Alegenorides (Promachus), 72–73
ἀλέκω, averting of evil, 169–171, 174, 176, 180
ἀλέκτωρ, meaning of, 171–175, 180
Alektryon, origin of name, 171
Aleuadae, 170, 186–189, 192
Aleuas, origin of name, 73, 81, 170, 182, 192, 195; and Alea, 185–188
Alexamenos, 81
Alexander, origin of name, 75, 190, 193
Alexandra, 186
Alexandros (Paris), 69–71, 73; origin of name, 81, 144, 170, 182, 186, 195

Alexanor, origin of name, 71, 170, 190, 193; worship of, 113–115, 122–123; and Herakles, 186
Alexas, 188
ἀλεξίκακος, 30, 81, 114–115, 182, 186, 190
Ἀλεύανδρος, Aleuas, 188
ἀλεύω, averting of evil, 169–170, 185–188
Alkaios and Herakles, 186
Alkandros, averter of evil, 71, 182
Alkestis and Admetus, 132, 195; worship of, 143, 145–146, 148–150
Alketas, 182, 193
Alkeides and Herakles, 186
Alkman. *See* Alcman
Alkon, origin of name, 182, 193, 195; and Herakles, 186
Alkyone, 123
Allen, T. W., Dulichium (Leukas), 65; Cyclades in the Trojan war, 81; Teutamos, 118; Thracians and Hyperboreans, 205
Allotter (Fate), 159
Ἀλμωνία (Orchomenos), 68
Almopia and Paeonia, 93; dominated by the Macedonians, 95; giants of, 205
Aloeus, sons of, and the Muses, 223
Alpheus river, 125
Alyattes, spinning legend, 136
Amazons, battle with the Phrygians, 21
Amber objects in Troy, 6, 176, foot-note; averter of evil, 175–180; offerings, 200; trade, 204–205, 209
Ambraciot gravestones, Λήνα, 164
ἀμιτροχίτωνες, without girdle, 33
Ammianus, atrocities of Curio, 53
Amphidamas, 73
Amulets, 176–177
Amydon, 35, 83
Amynandridae, 185
Amynandros, name ending, 73; Amyntor, 76; origin of name, 81, 144, 170, 182, 184–185, 193, 195
Amyneion, Athens, 170
Amynos, averting evil, 169–170; origin of name, 184–186
Amyntas, origin of name, 73, 182, 186; genealogy, 75
Amyntor, name-ending, 76; origin of name, 81, 118, 170, 182, 184
Amyrus river, settled by the Paeonians, 93; the Eordaeans, 108, 110; Lakereia, 188
Anacreon, Hermes Κρέων, 193
Anagoge motif, 149
Anatolia, Nordic steppe-men, 6; nature goddess and Anchises, 45
Anchises, genealogy, 39, 64, 119, 122; origin of name, 45–46; Anchimachetes, Anchises, 46; theft of horses, 58–59; and Laokoon, 74
Andromache and Hector, 149
–andros, name-ending, 71
Anesidora, Mother Earth, 166
Animal sacrifice, 12, 16; horses, 37, 83–87, 168; horses and bulls, 60; dogs, 103–104; to Artemis, 132; cocks, 172–175; asses, 197. *See also* Wolf-worship
Animals, names derived from, 35–36, 183
Antandros, 71
Antenor, leader of the Dardanians, 11, 17; genealogy, 38–39, 55, 74–75; ἱππόδαμος, 66; name-ending, 71–73; and Laokoon, 74
Anthedon, 35

Anthemus, 95
ἄνθη, (Anthedon), 35
Anthropomorphic gods, 88–89, 106–107, 120, 125, 129, 149–150. *See also under* Ethnic titles.
Antilochos, 66, 75–76.
Antiope (Moon), 121–122, 143–144, 214–215, 220
Antonine Wall in Scotland, Dianae Apolloni, 131
Aoide (Muses), 223
ἀοῖλέες, 49–51
Apella, god of the, 126
Apennine peninsulas, Illyrian immigrants, 55
ἀφνειοί, 20, 25
Aphnitis, Lake, 20
Aphrodite, 39; protector of Aeneas, 41; and Anchises, 45; ἀγχίθεος, 46, 165; goddess of women, 136; and Dione, 152; genealogy, 156
Apisaon, 64, 97, 84
Apollo, builder of the walls of Troy, 3–4; protector of the Trojans, 4, 5, 41, 151; iatromantis, not Helios, 13; worship, 13, 16, 23, 37, 68, 88, 90, 106, 128, 129, 203–205; personified, 14; and Pandaros, 20, 28; oracle of, 23, 116; ἀλεξίκακος, 30, 114, 170, 190; wolf-worship, 29–30; and Sarpedon, 33; protector of Poulydamas, Agenor, sons of Panthoos, Aeneas, and the Dardanians, 39–42; ἱπποδάμοι, 60; and Poseidon, 79; and Sabazios, 89; appeal to Glaukos, 101; and Artemis, 107, 131, 198; genealogy, 110, 156; god of youth growing to manhood, 125–127, 215, 221, 224; Parthenon frieze, 126, 128; Sitalkas, 130; and Diana (Artemis), 131; fillets of wool, 163; prayer against disease, 170; averter of evil, 182; and Iamos, 187; and Koronis, 188; epithets of, 190–191; song of Alcaeus to, 196; the Charites, 212, 222. *See also* Phoebus Apollo; Helios; Sun.
Apollo, Akesios, statue in Elis, 115
Apollo Eikadios, 223
Apollo Hekatos, 133
Apollo Paeon, 111–129
Apollo Smintheus, 183
Apollodorus, Thracian Sarpedon, 34; Lykos, 37; genealogy, 63; Alastor; Laodokos, 121; Augeias, 123
Apollon Δερρωναῖος, 102
Apollonia, 204
Apollonius Rhodius, Brimo, 134; Muses, 217
Apotropaic epithets, ἀλεξίκακος, 81, 182; averters of evil, 169; ritual, 174; epithets, Aleuas, Alea, etc., 185–186, 195
ἀποτρόπαιος, Herakles, 186
Appian, Argos in Orestea, 94
Aratus, Hekate, 112–113; Egyptian sun-worship, 121
Arcadia, settlers in, 48, 55; close-fighting, 72; Athena Alea, 186
Archelochos, 39
Archers, Pandaros, 28; Trojans, 59; archer-gods, 192
Archestratus, the sarp (fish), 36
Ardalides (Muses), 218
Ardescus river, 14, 125
Areilukos, 79
Ares, favors the Trojans, 5; healed by Paeon, 99; and Hera, 106–107
Argaios, Mimallones, 158
Arge, offerings to Delos, 198
Argeades Polymelos, 75

ἀργεϊφόντης, 191–192
Argiope (Moon), 143–144, 214
Argive sacrifice of horses, 87
Argiza, site of, 23–24
Argos, horses of, 60, 65; statue of Artemis Pheraia, 133; fugitives to Illyria, 93–95
Argyraspides and Teutamos, 118
Ariston, Paeonian prince, 43; escape to Dardania, 55; baptism in the river Astibos, 86
Aristotle, fish described, 36; Abantes, 72
Arkesilaos, form of name, 72, 78–79, 118
Arkwright W., Maeonians, 27, 56; 28; word-endings, -ων, -δων, 35; Beithys, 45; word-endings in -ωνη, 152
Armor, Diomede and Glaukos, 26; of Asteropaios, 54, 86
Arrowheads, wounds from, 100, 108, 111, 113
Arrows, of Pandaros, 28; in sun-worship, 88
Arruntas, childbirth superstitions, 138
ἄρσενες, horses of Aeneas, 64
Artemis, springs at Gunen, 23; and Apollo, 37; and Aeneas, 41, 101; cult, 88, 113, 130–132, 135, 137, 156–157, 197–198; ἀχέομαι, 115; the queen, 130–150, 167; and Hera, 151–152; εὔσκοπος, 191; Hyperborean land, 199
Artemis Basileia, 105–107, 132–133, 137, 141, 145, 200, 205. *See also* Basileia
Artemis Hekate, 133–134
Artemis Locheia, 139
Artemis Oupis, 198
Artemis Pheraia, 133
Artemision. *See* Delos
Ascra, the Muses, 223
Ash spear of Achilles, 41, 85
Asia Minor, tumulus-folk, 6, 62; invading tribes, 9, 34, 56; trade with Troy, 10; trade routes, 19, 24; Briges, 56; kurgans, early culture, 58; horse breeding, 62; Greek state, 70; river-worship, 89; Phrygians, 95; cult of Leto, 154
Asiatic war, Hittite allies, 31 foot-note; origin of the Paeonians, 90–91
Asios, 75
Askania, 19
Askanios, 43
Asklepeion, at Titane, 170
Asklepios, 99; worship of, 101; the healer, 108; Alexikakos, 114; Trikkaios, 133; offering of the cock, 172; Harpy tomb, 174; 184–186, 188–189
Asopo (Muses), 218
Aspledon, 35
Assarakos, 44–46, 119
Asses, sacrifice of, 197
Asteria, Star-goddess, 133
Asteropaios, Trojan war, 32, 83–85, 91; bright armor, 54, 86; name origin, 64, 97; genealogy, 100, 203; lightning a cult-title, 116
Astibos river, baptism of Ariston, 55, 86
Assyrian name, Assarakos, 45; Teutamos, 118
Astygonos, 117
ἄτερ λαῶν, in Sarpedon's speech, 76–78
Athamanes, 182, 185
Athenaeus, the sarp (fish), 36; Paeonian medicine, 98; ἀλέκτωρ, 174
Athene (Athena), love for the Greeks, 5; and Pandaros, 28–29; temple, 42; with kalathos and spindle, 136; moon ele-

ments, 149 foot-note; Alea, 186; and Danae's son, 197
Athenian hero, Pandion, 37
Athens, Acropolis. *See* Acropolis
Athens, votive tablet, 77; culture, 96; Amyneion, 170
Athos, Mount, 36
ἀθύρματα, amber trade, 177
Atlas, 123, 207
Atlas, Mount, 180
Atreides and Euphorbos, 40
Atreus, epithets in ἱππο-, 66
Atthis (Anchises), 45
Attica, Greek founders of Troy, 70
Auge, 149 foot-note, 186
Augeias of Elis, 123–124, 127
Augurs, Ennomos, 21; Helenos, 39; Poulydamas, 73; *See also* Mantic gift; Oracles
Aulo- (ἱππο-), 63
Aulona, 153
Auro-, 66
Autoleon, 86
Autonoos, 78
Auxo, Charites, 211; Muses, 223
Averting of evil, 30, 54, 169–195. *See also* Magic
Avlona, 153
Avro-, 66
Axios river, Paeonian settlers, 12, 19, 91, 93, 95; Asteropaios, 54; worship of, 83–88; genealogy, 84, 100–101, 203; healing art, 102
Bacchae, spinning worshippers, 159; Dionysus worship, 162; Lenae, 164; Bacchants, 166
Bacchylides, ἀλέκτωρ, 175
Balia Bazar, inscription at, 23–24
Balkans, invaders of Asia Minor, 34; Illyrian immigrants, 55; Poseidon, a god of, 61; horse-breeding, 62; origin of the Trojans, 69; names, 72; trade, 80, 205; nature-worship, 88; peony, 104; Eordaeans, 109; rivers of Tethys, 125; sun and moon myths, 147–148; Hyperborean, 199, 203; Delphian and Delian cults, 200
Baltic, amber trade, 176–178
Baptae of Eupolis, 86
Baptism of kings in rivers, 86, 125
Basile and Echelos, 77–78; worship of, 113
Basileia (Bendis), 133, 144. *See also* Artemis Basileia
Basileia (island), tin and amber, 209
Basilius of Caesarea, 172
Bassarids, 160–161, 166
Bastarnae (tribe), 52
Bateia, wife of Dardanus, 81
Baths, habits of the Dardanians, 53; lustral, 86; use of women's baths forbidden to men, 138–139
Batieia, Trojan mound, 56, 81
Baton (Batieia), 56
Battle-cry, Tribes of the Trojan. *See* Tribes of the Trojan battle-cry
Baunonia (island), 209
Bazar Keui, road through, 24
Bear (constellation), Helike, 207
Bechtel, geographical names, 35–36. *See also* Fick-Bechtel
Bees, name of Tenthredon, 35–36
Beithys, 45
Bellerophon, 27, 32, 37
Bendideios, spring month, 135
Bendis, 133, 135–136, 141, 144, 150, 155
Bergk, Muses, 216, 222
Bermion, Mount, 94, 109, 204
Bias, 75, 79
Bienor, 71
Bird names, religious, 183
Birth-goddess. *See* Child-birth; Leto

Bisaltia, dominated by the Macedonians, 95
Bison head, bronze, 96
Bithynians, 20; worship of Hekate, 141; procession of Artemis, 135–136
Black magic, worship of Hekate, 141
Black Sea, Greek settlers, 25; in mythology, 210
Blandona, 153
Blood of horses, use of, 63
Bloodshed. *See* Purification
Boebeis, Lake, 93, 110, 188
Boeckh, χάλχαις, 37
Boeotia, names, 35, 72–73; lustration of the army, 87; Daphnephoria, 127; Muses, 218; Korinna, 223
Boëthius, C. A., primitive house types, 9
Bora (Hyperborean myth), 201–202, 204, 205–206, 207, 209
Boreas, horses of Erichthonios, 44; wind-god, 199, 202, 210. *See also* North wind
Bored celts, 42
Borysthenes river, 25
Bos-Öyük, excavations, 21–22
Bosporos, 21, 35
Bottiaians, 95, 109
Bow and arrows. *See* Arrows
–bria, Thracian name-ending, 119–120
Briges (tribe), 56, 95
Brimo, 132–134, 136, 141
Bronze objects in Troy, 6; armor of Asteropaios, 54, 86; bison head of Paeonia, 96
Broussa, trade route to Smyrna, 24
Builder gods of Troy, 1–17
Bulgaria, tumulus-folk, 6, 62
Bulls, sacrifice of, 60, 84
Burial jars at Yortan, 22, 24; orientation of the dead, 26; Lykian, 33
Bury, J. B., Erechtheus, 61; Trojan names, 69–70
Bysios, spring month, 199
Caesar, German military tactics, 51
Caicus river, born of Tethys, 14, 125; Mysians, 21, 34; Yortan, 22; sacred rites, 27, 89; Maeonians, 28; pottery, 58
Calabria (Galabrioi), 55
Calendar, moon year and sun year, 141–142, 224. *See also* Months
Cape Cod, 36
Cape Sepias, 36
Cappadocia, horse-breeding, 62
Caresus river, 4
Carians, traders, 26; Maeander river, 28; kurgans, 58; Trojan war, 83; worship of Hekate, 141; Mus, 183
Cassander, 75
Cassandra. *See* Kassandra
Cassia, trade in, 179
Cassotis, Muses, 213, 222
Castalia, coming of Apollo to, 196–197; Muses, 213
Catalogue of ships, 18–20; Maeonians, 27; Abantes, 48, 78; Pheidippos, 64; Meges, 65; Laodameia, 75; Klonios and Prothoenor, 79; Paeonians, 83; Polyxeinos, 124
Catullus, Daskylitis, 25; Artemis, 142–143
Celaeno, the Pleiad, 37
Celtica, 206, 209
Celts, bored, 42
Centaurs, Cheiron, 100, 107–108; Eordaeans, 108–110, 188; northern lands, 205
Cereal offerings at Delos, 130, 132, 135, 137, 197–198

Chalcedon, 35–37
Chalkidike, Paeonians, 93
Chalkis, Minyan ware, 81
Chants against evil, 54. *See also* Paean songs
Chariots, Trojans', 59; race, Diomede and the horses of Aeneas, 64
Charites, 211–212, 215–216, 218–223; dances, 212, 224
Charops, 63, 72, 75
Cheiron, healing of wounds, 100, 101, 110, 188; medicinal use of the peony, 107–108; Eordaeans, 108–109
Chersidamas, 73
Chersonese, Paeonians, 23; Παιών, 91
Chiefs, names of, 53
Childe, V. G., Minyan ware, 81
Childbirth. *See* Women
Chinese and Hyperboreans, 208–209
Chios, Hector, 69
Choir-leader, Kalliope, 220
Christ, origin of name, 126
Christian Lord God, sun and moon myths, 147–148
Chrysa, the priest of, 5
χρυσηλάκατος, spindle of Artemis, 131, 135
Chryses, fillets of wool, 163
Chrysorthe, 121
Chthon (Chthonia), goddess, 119, 139, 152
Chthonian deities, 78–79, 107, 124, 128–129, 137, 190, 194
Chthonian names, Klytios, 45; Trojan names, 77, 116–117; cock, 171
Chthonian rites, 114–115
Chthonios and Polydektes, 120; Hermes cult, 194
Chthonophyle, 122
Cicero, divination, 181; Antiope, 214
Cilicia, trade route of the Lykians, 20; probably Kelekish, 31 footnote
Cinnamon, trade in, 179
Closefighting, 21, 46–56, 72
Cocceius, Firmus, altar to Dianae Apolloni, 131
Cock, magic and sacrifice, 171, 175, 183–184
Cogamus, trade routes, 24
Coins, Zaieleoi, 23; Aeneia, 43; Dardanian, 53; Lukkeios, 102; spindle symbol, 136, 157; Lete, 154, 165; Thessaly, Hermes, 193
Collignon, Yortan, 22, 24
Commerce. *See* Trade
Cook, A. B., Antiope, 122; Dione, 152; Lenaios, 162
Copper trade, 9, 25, 54
Corinth, Muses, 213
Cornford, F. M., Olympic games, 147; Danaids, 224
Corn offerings to Artemis at Delos, bound in a stalk, 130, 132, 135, 137, 157, 197–198
Crannon, endings in -ων, and -δων, 35; Skopas, 188–191
Cretan arts of living, 11; Pasiphae, 112
Crimea, in mythology, 210
Crops, vegetation god, 30, 101, 127, 163–168, 194; averting evil, 54, 157–158, 160, 163, 170, 183; moon-goddess, 106; Titan, 112; sun-god, 123, 200; Muses, 213. *See also* Dews
Crusius, names in -ων, and -ωνη, 35, 152–153; Bermios, 204
Culpepper, Nicholas, the peony, 104
Curio, atrocities in war, 53
Curtius, Aleuas, 186

Cuttle-fish (Cape Sepias), 36
Cyclades, culture, 81
Cyning (king), 118
Cyprus, copper trade, 9, 20, 22; pottery, 25; and Hyperborean land, 199, 210
Cytherea, Amphidamas, 73; Lykophron, 76
Cyzicus, 20; road to Adramyttium, 23; Aesepus river, 37 foot-note
Dacia, Artemis the queen, 131
Daebritz, Hyperborean legends, 200–209
Daemons, Darron, 102; Alkestis, 146; of fertility, Protesilaos, 148; ithyphallic, 165; and heroes, 207
–damas, name-endings, 73
Damastor, name-ending, 76
Danaans, destruction of the Trojan wall, 4
Danaids, well-maidens, 224
Dances, 212–213, 221, 223–224
Danube valley, home of the Dardanians, 10; Paeonians, 91; origin of name, 177. *See also* Nordic steppe-men
Danubian names, in -ηνωρ, 72; Teutamos
Danubians, and the sixth city, 1, 13; sun-worship, 13, 94; in Troy, 19; in the Troad, 20; Mysians, 38, 48; tumulus-folk, 62; the Thrako-Illyrian family, 95; military genius, 96–97; worship of Artemis, 131; of Hekate, 141
Danzig, Rodaune river, 177
Daphnephoria at Delphi, 105; Boeotian, 127
Dardanelles, control of, 8; trade, 19; origin of name, 55
Dardania, caravan-route to Paeonia, 42; Beithys, 45
Dardanian Aeneas. *See* Aeneas
Dardanians, builders of the Trojan wall, 10, 13; in council, 17–18; Catalogue of ships, 18, 20; Lykians, 20; Egyptian records, 31–32; Mysians, 33; tribes of the Trojan battle-cry, 38–56; closefighting, 46–47, 51–53, 72; origin of name, 79, 119; Bateia, 81; Ariston, 86; and Paeonians, 43, 91; slayer of Protesilaos, 148–149
Dardanus, genealogy, 10, 42, 45–46, 61, 119; son of Zeus, 32, 41, 44
Dareios, and Sardes, 90, 92
Darron (Derrones), 102
Daskylitis, 20, 25, 31
Daskylos, 37
Dawn, child of Hyperion, 112, 119, 125
Dead, burial. *See* Burial
Dead, religion of the, 149
Death, god of, Laomedon, 79; and Herakles, 98; Admetus, 121, 124
Death, goddess of, Persephoneia, 192
Death, personified, 33; brought by Apollo and Artemis, 107; stories of, 146–147
Decharme, Muses, 213, 216, 220–221
Deep Sleep, personified, 33
Deer-grass, dews, 214
Deikoon, 74
Deiphobus, 69
Deisenor, 71
Deities, names of. *See* Names
Delos, Hyperborean offerings to Artemis, 130–132, 135, 137, 157, 197–198, 200, 203; Charites, 212; moon-worship, 221
Delphi, bronze bison head of Paeonia, 96; Polygnotus' pic-

ture at, 124; Gaia, 142; Apollo, 196, 203; Hyperborean legends, 200; sun-worship, 208; Muses, 213, 216, 223; Cassotis, 222
Demeter and Iason, 42; and Persephone, 114–115, 156; Gaia (Chthon), 152; dances in honor of, 223–224
Demokoon, 74
Demoleon, 39
Derden, Deriden, 31 foot-note
Derrones (Darron), 102
Dew, moon's phases, 142; Phoibe, 153; dew-goddesses, 211, 214–215, 218–219, 221. *See also* Crops
Dexion, 184
διαίνεσθαι, (Dione), 153
Diaktorides and Agarista, 192
Diana Regina and Apollo, 106; Artemis, 131
Dine, sacrifice of a horse, 87
Diodorus, Thymoites, 18; Melampus, 73; Centaurs, 110; Teutamos, 118; Artemis, 199; Helixoia, 206, Basileia, 209
Diogenes Laertius, Anchites, 46
Diomede, address to the Trojan assembly, 18; trading armor with Glaukos, 26; and Aeneas, 29; horses of Aeneas, 59, 64, 67; epithets in ἵππο-, 60, 65–66; and Ares, 99
Dione, 98, 152–153
Dionysiac worship, 54, 158, 160–166
Dionysius, Dardanos and Iasion, 42
Dionysus and Sabazios, 89; god of the earth, 128; Eurydice myth, 144; Muses, 214; Charites, 221
Dionysus Bassareus, 160
Dionysus Pseudanor, 158, 160, 165–166
Dios, 79
Dioscurides of Amazarba, peony, 103
Distaff. *See* Spindle and spinning
Divination. *See* Augurs
Dnieper river, tumulus-folk, 6
Dodona, Dione, 152–153; seers of, 182; offering to Delos, 198
Dogs, lustration of the army, 87; in the siege of Perinthus, 93; used in digging the peony, 103–104
Doiran, Lake, 91, 102
Doliones (tribe), 20–21
Dolon, 83
Dolopians, and Paeonians, 93
Dolopion, 75
Dolops, 75, 78–80
-δων, name ending, 35
δόρατι τῷ ὀρεκτῷ, 48
Doris and Nereus, 224
Dörpfeld, W., excavations, 65; Ilos, 80
Dotian plain, Eordaeans, 108, 110
Douripos, 75
Dreamer, Eurydamas, 182
Drerup, E., Trojan songs, 50; ἱππόβοτος, 67; horses came from the north to Greece, 68
Dropion, king of Paeonia, 96
Dryalus, god of the oak, 104–105, 116
Dryas, 182
Dryope, 214
Dryopes, 75
Dryops, 75, 79–80
Dulichium, 65, 67
Dusseaud, Lykians, 30–31
Dymas, 75
Dyrrachium, 203
Earth, Aguieus, the fertility of the, 128
Earth-goddess, Artemis Locheia, 139; Semele, 166

Earth-Moon-goddess, 155–156
Earth-mother and Poseidon, 120–121; and Moon-mother, 138–139; Dione and Leto, 152; dances in honor of, 223–224
Earth-Shaker, destroying the Greek wall, 4
Echelaos (Hector), 77–79, 120
Echelas (Ἐχελῖδαι), 77–78
Echelos (Hades), 77–78; and Basile, 113
Echepolis (Hector), 76–78
Echepolos, 39, 64, 122
Echinae islands, 65
Edessa, 108
Edonians, and Macedonians, 95; religious customs of women, 161
Edremit, 24
Egnatian Way, 108, 203–204
Egypt, records of Dardanians and Greeks, 10, 31–32; shrew-mouse cult, 30; sun-worship, 121; goddess Neith, 136; and Hyperborean land, 199, 210
Eikadios (Apollo), 223
Eileithuia. *See* Women in childbirth
Elatos, 48
Electuary, the peony, 104
ἠλέκτωρ (Alektor), 171, 174, 180
Elektris, 43
ἤλεκτρον, amber, 176, 180
Elephenor, 72
Eleusis, dances at Kallichoros, 223–224
Eleutho, birth-goddess, 154
Eleuther, 123
Elimeia, 109
Elimiotis (tribe), 95
Elis, horse-breeding, 67; statue of Apollo Akesios, 115; worship at, 119 foot-note; Augeias, 123–124
Ἦλις ἱππόβοτος, 65
Ellopes, name-ending, 75
Emathia, 93, 205
Embeilus cult, 37 foot-note
Empedocles (Anchites), 46
Empelos river, 37
ἐναγισμοί, purification ritual, 169; worship of Alexanor, 170
ἐναγίζουσι, 87, 115
Endymion and the Moon, 224
ἐνέροις ἄνασσα (Hekate), 135
Engel, Leukas, 65
England, peony introduced, 104, 209; identified with Helixoia, 206
English Physician Enlarged, the peony, 104
Enipeus, 197
Ennomos the augur, 21
Enodia, Artemis, 131; Hekate, 134
Enops, 75
-ηνωρ, name-endings, 63, 71–73
Eordaeans (Eordi), 93, 95, 108–110; health cult, 188
Eos, 125
ἐπαοιδή (Odysseus), 16
Epeans, and Polyxeinos, 124
Ephyra (Crannon), 188
ἤπια φάρμακα of Paeon, 101
Epicharmus, Muses, 217–218
Epilepsy, healed by the peony root, 104
ἐπιμήλιος (Hermes), 191
Epione, worship of, 101
ἤπιος, 101; Leto, 154
Epirus, royal names, 72, 182; Paeonians, 93; offerings to Delos, 198
Epistor, 78
ἐπῳδή (chant of healing), 108; Muses, 221
Epopeus (Helios, cult-title), 121–123
Equites singulares, Rome, 131
Erasimolpe (Erato), 213
Erechtheus (Poseidon), 61; and Sikyon, 122

ἠρι-, Eridanus river, 177
ἐρι:βῶλαξ, deep-soiled, 167–168
Erichthonios, genealogy, 44–45; horse-breeding, 61, 79; Poseidon, 70, 123; origin of name, 119–120
Eridanus river, 13, 125, 177–178; amber, 176
Erinyes, spirit of vengeance, 171
Erualos, 118
Erusibios (Apollo), 30; god of the grain, 127
Erythrae, Athena with distaff, 136
Ethnic titles of gods, 100–102, 115–116; tribal ethnics, 119. *See also under* Anthropomorphic gods
Etruria, amber, 177
Etymologicum Magnum, Zeleia, 23; Anchises, 45; Echelas, 77; Dione, 153; βασσάραι, 160; Dexion, 184; Oupis, 198
Euamerion, worship of, 114, 171
Euboea, Abantes, 48, 72; Minyan ware, 81; offering to Delos, 198
Euchenor, 72–73, 181–182
Eudorus, 190
Euenus river, 114, 125
Euhemeristic school, Hyperboreans, 206
Euippe, 90
Euippos, 64
Eumaeus, amber necklace, 176
Eumelos, Antiope, 122, 214
Eumenides. *See* Aeschylus
Euphorbos, 39–40, 194
Euphrosyne, 212
Eupolis, *Baptae*, 86
Euripides, quotations from the Troades, 8–9, 61–62; 68; Polyxeinos, 124; Hekate, 134–135; Persephone and Artemis, 144–145; worship of Alkestis, 146; Laodameia, 148–149; μαλλός, 159; amber myth, 176, 178; Rhesus, 202; moon-month dances, 223
Europe, timber houses, 9; trade with Troy, 10; invasion by the Teukrians and Mysians, 90
European war, 1914–1918, German method of fighting, 46–47
Eurydamas, 73, 75, 79, 182, 194
Eurydice, 143–144, 148–150
Eurykreousa, 144
Eurymachos, amber necklace, 176
Euryphaessa and Hyperion, 112
Eurypylos, healed by Patroklos, 102
Eustathios, Alastor (Helios) 119; ἀλέκτωρ, 171, 174
Euxine, in mythology, 210
Evadne, marriage of, 147
Evans, Sir Arthur, Anchises, 45
Evil, Averting of. *See* Averting of evil
Eye diseases, healed by the peony root, 104
εὐκολίνη (Leto), 154
εὐμμελίας (sons of Panthoos), 40
εὐφρόνη (night), 154, 171
εὔπωλος (Ilium), 59
Εὐρυκόας (Εὐρύνομος) 74
εὔσκοπος, Hermes, 191–192
Fabricius, inscription at Balia Bazar, 23–24
Factory, Greek colony developed from, 25
Far-Darter (Paeon), 107–108
Farnell, Poseidon, a fresh-water god, 61; names of deities, 111; sun-worship and sun-magic, 127–128; Artemis Locheia, 139; Hyperborean tradition, 201, 203
Fates, the three, 158–159
Fertility-magic, 154, 165
Fick, names ending in –ops, 75

Fick-Bechtel, Anchimachos, 46; Macedonian names, 71; hypercoristica, 76; Polites, 77; Kastor, 78; Alektor and Alektryon, 171; shortening of names, 184. *See also* Bechtel
Fig-juice, 99
Fighting, Dardanian tactics, 46–56; closefighting, 72
Flanona, 153
Flax in magic, 158
Florus, sacrifice of horses, 87
Flowers, in place names 36
Forest spirits, Sileni, 109–110
Forests, worship of, 89
Forsdyke, E. J., Minyan ware, 81
Fougères, worship of Alea, 186
Fowler, Warde, oak tree and lightning, 116
François vase, Kalliope, 220
Frankincense, trade in, 179
Frazer, Olympic games, 147; kingship, 182–183
French Africa, sun and moon myths, 156
Gaia (Chthon), 30, 137, 139, 142, 144–145, 150, 152–153, 155, Γαιήοχος (Poseidon), 70, 79
Galabrioi (Calabria), 55
Galadraeans (tribe), 109
Galaxaure, 66
Galauros and Argaios, 158
Gamelion, Attic month, Lenaia, 162
Ganymede, 59, 64
Garden of Phoebus, 210; of the Hesperides, 210
Gauanes, 93
Gaudin, excavations at Yortan, 24
Gelembhe, carriage-road, 24
Genethlion, sacrifice of a horse, 87
Geographical names. *See* Names
Geography, Greek ignorance of, 178–180, 204, 206–208, 210
Germans, method of fighting, 46–47, 51; folk-lore, moosweibschen, 167; glaesum (amber), 178
Getae, sun-worship, 88, 116, 128; Salmoxis, 202
Ghosts, ritual against, 169
Giants, myths of, 205
Gladisch, Hyperboreans and Chinese, 208–209
Glaesum (amber), 178
Glaukos, leader of the Lykians, 18–19, 32–33, 37; trading armor with Diomede, 26; wounded, invokes Apollo, 29, 101; Trojan war, 83; healed by Paeon, 107
God (Christian), sun and moon myth, 147–148
God-built walls of Troy, 1–17
Gods, names of. *See* Names
Goettling, use of women's baths forbidden to men, 138–139
Goitre, amber magic, 176
Gold aegis, preservation of Hector's body, 5; objects found in Troy, 6, 10; ornaments, Paeonian and Dardanian, 53–54; mines of Pangaeum, 93; necklace, 176; in Europe, 178; headband of Apollo, 196; laurel leaves, 197
Gold spindle of Artemis. *See* spinning
Grain mould, destroyer of, 30
Granicus river, 4, 13, 125
Grassland, horse-breeding, 62
Great Bear, Helike, 207
Great war, 1914–1918. *See* European war, 1914–1918
Greeks, military formation, 51–52; literature and religion, outside influences, 54; names with

ἵππος, 63; rulers in the Troad, 69–70; nature-worship, 89; army physicians, 99; peony, 104; medicine, 110; names in -ωνη, 152–153; spindle symbol, 157
Griffins, Chinese, 208–209
Grimm, spinning huntresses, 167; moos, 216, foot-note
Gruppe, name of Aeneas, 43–44; chthonian names, 77, 116; Laomedon, 78, 119; names with Lao–, 117; Antiope, 122; Athena and spindle, 136; Herakles and the divine physicians, 186; Iamos, 188; Kreon and Hermes, 193; chthonian deities, 194; Charites, 216
Gunen, oracle of Apollo, 23; horse-fair at, 27
Günther, derivation of Hyperborean, 201–202
Gygaean lake, Iphition, 27; legend of spinning Artemis, 136
Hades, Laomedon a cult-title of, 45, 119; identification with other gods, 79; names with Lao–, 117
Hades-Helios, 107, 111–129, 144–146
Hadrian coins, Dardanian, 53
Haemus, Mount, women of, 161
αἱμαγωγόν (peony), 103
Haliakmon river, 13, 68, 95, 125, 205
Halicarnassus, Lenae, 162
Hall, H. R., Tremilae, name of the Lykians, 31
Halliday, W. R., manteis, 181–183; magic springs, 222
Harpy tomb, 174
Harrison, Jane E., Helios and Hades, 107, 111–114, 126, 128; Phoibe, 137, 142, 152, 155; Eurydice myth, 144; Dionysus, 166; σφάγια, 171; cock magic, 172; Amynos, Asklepios and Dexion, 184; Hyperboreans, 206–207; Charites, Horae and moon's phases, 211; Hersephoria, 214; Muses as Maiden-Trinities, 219
Harvest. *See* Crops
Hasluck, F. W., Aphnitis and Manyas, 20; oracle of Apollo, 23; Argiza, 23; horse-fairs, 27, 68; site of Zeleia, 34; Aesepus cult, 37 foot-note
Healing. *See* Magic; Medicine
Hebe and Herakles, 186–187
Hebrides, cock-magic, 172
Hebrus river, 34, 36
Hecataeus of Abdera; Hyperboreans, 206; Helixoia, 207–209
Hector, restoration of his body to Priam, 5; the god-built walls of Troy, 8; leader of the Trojans, 11, 17–18, 32, 84–85; and Poulydamas, 18, 39–40; protected by Apollo, 41; Trojan military tactics, 50; ἱππόδαμοι, 60; and Hipponoos, 63; epithets in ἵππο-, 66; Nestor, 69; name ending, 76–77; Echelaos, 77–78, 120; attended by Apollo, 107; and Andromache, 149
Hecuba, 69
Hegemone, Charites, 211
Hekabe (Hekate), 133
Hekaerge (Hekate), 132; Moon, 143; offerings at Delos, 157, 198
Hekate, moon-goddess, 104–105, 130–150; daughter of the Sun, 112–114, 116, 134; Leto, 155
Hekate Enodia, 131, 145
Hekatebolos, far-shooter, 133
Hekatos (Apollo), 132
Helenus, son of Priam, 39, 69
Helikaon, 39, 74

ἑλίκη (Helikon), 35; Great Bear, 207
Helikon, 35; Muses of, 213–214, 217–218, 223
Helios, not Apollo, 13; ἥλιος (sun-god), 23; Hyperion and Apollo, 30, 137–138, 194; source of light, 88; and Selene, 106; and Antiope, 144, 214. *See also* Apollo; Phoebus; Sun
Helios Elektor Hyperion, 180
Helios Hades, 107, 111–129, 144–146
Helios Hyperion, 30, 113–115, 137–138
Helixoia, Hyperboreans, 206–207, 209
Hellanikos, 118
Hellas and Pieria, 87
Hellenes, nature-worship, 88
Hellenic deities, 132, 140–141, 147–148
Hellespont, road to Nish, 42; tumulus-folk, 62; Troes, 63; Strymon river, 90
Heptapore (Muses), 218
Heptaporus river, 4, 13, 125
Hera, love for the Greeks, 5; and Sarpedon, 33; and Ares, 106–107; and Artemis, 131, 135, 151–152; and Leto, 154, 186
Heracleitus, ληναΐζω, 162; Great Bear, 207
Herakleia Lynkestis (Monastir), 108, 203
Herakles, horses of Troy, 8, 59; invader of Greece, 9; and Sarpedon, 34–35; god of death, 98; and Alkestis, 149; ἀλεξίκακος, 170; averter of evil, 182; epithets of, 186–187, 190–191; Skopadae, 188–189; and the Ister, 197
Herbs, knowledge of, 54
Hercules, pillars of, 180
Hermes, Aeneas, 44; Basile, 77; epithets of, 145, 190–194; worship of, 149; Leto, 151; ἀλεξίκακος, 190; Phorbas, 194; περφεραῖος, 201; Charites, 216, 222
Hermes Chthonios, 193
Hermione, Klymenos, 119; chthonic deities, 190
Hermus river, 14, 27, 125
Herodotus, settlers in Olbia, 25; wolf-cult, 30; Tremilae, 31, 37; Paeonia, 43; Sardes, 90, 92; Perinthus, 93; founding of Macedonia, 93–94; Briges, 95; Eordaeans, 109; offerings brought to Delos, 130–132, 135, 137, 157, 197–198, 200, 203; Artemis Basileia, 133; spinning legend, 135–136; Kassiterides, 177; Greek ignorance of geography, 178–180, 204, 206–208, 210; authenticity of his tales, 179–180; Mus, 183; Diaktorides, 192; Hyperboreans, 199, 205; περφερέες, 201–202; Scythians, 208; tin and amber, 210
Herse, dew-goddess, 211, 219
Hersephoria, dew-festival, 214, 219
Herwerden, Sarpedon, 36
Hesiod, list of rivers, 13–14, 125; ἄφενος, 25; list of water-nymphs, 66; Neleus, 120; rivers born to Ocean by Tethys, 125; rivers bringing youth to manhood, 127; Hekate, 133; Hyperion and Theia, 138; measuring time by the moon, 141–142; use of women's baths forbidden, 138–139; Earth and Sky, 149; Leto, 153–154; the three Fates, 159; Eridanus river, 177; sceptre, 181; ἀλέα, 186; Hyperboreans, 199; Πί-

ερες, 205; Muses of Helikon, 213–215, 223; Ourania, 215; Kalliope, 215, 220
Hesperides, garden of, 210
Hesychius, Mysians, 21, 34; σαρπούς, 36; Koas, 74; Darron, 102; Aualos and Dualos, 116; Periklymenos, 120; ἐπόπτης, 122; λῆναι, 164; Amynandridae, 185 μωύς, 216, 222
Hiketaon, 17, 44–45, 64, 119
ἱκέτης (Hiketaon), 45
ἵκκος (ἵππος), 68
Himerius, song of Alcaeus to Apollo, 196–197
Hippasides (Hypsenor), 63–64, 71–72
Hippasos, 63–64, 66, 71–72, 75, 84, 97
ἱππεῦ, Patroklos, 66
Hippios, Poseidon. *See* Poseidon Hippios
ἵππο-, names in, 60, 64–68
Hippocentauri (Eordaeans), 108–110, 188. *See also* Centaurs
Hippodamas, 64, 73
Hippodameia, 39
Hippodamos, 64
Hippokoon, 64, 74
Hippolochus, 32, 37, 64
Hippolytos, 122–123
Hippolytus (play). *See* Euripides
Hippomachos, 64
Hipponax, καύεις (–koon), 74
Hipponoos, 27, 37, 63
Hippothoos, 64
Hippotion, 64
Hippou Krene, 218, 221
Hirst, G. M., Olbia, 25
Hissarlik, 21; occupation by the Dardanians, 33; pottery, 58; Danubian culture, 96–97
Hissarlik II, destroyers of, 5, 58; early commerce, 9–10
Hissarlik II-VI, civilization of, 22
Hissarlik VI, 11–12
Hittite allies in the Asiatic war, 31 foot-note
Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, 71; –tor, name-endings, 76; Klonios, 79; origin of the Macedonians, 95; Derrones, 102
Holder, A., names derived from teuta, 118
Homer, god-built walls of Troy, 8; sun-worship, 12; θεόδμητοι, 10, 12; tribes in the Troad, 20–21; Lykians, 26, 30; Sardes, 28; ἀγχέμαχοι, 38; Samos, 43; Paeonian spears, 46; closefighting of the Dardanians, 47; Abantes, 48; Trojan names, 48; Myrmidon phalanx, 52; Ilios (Troy), 57; horse-breeding, 67–68; names of heroes, 71; Laokoon, 74; names ending in –ops, 75; Axios river, 87–88; anthropomorphic gods, 88–89, 120; Dardanians, 91; Cheiron, 110; home of the Dead, 114; Zeus and Artemis, 131, 134–136; Selene, 135; Hyperion and Helios, 137–138; measuring time by the moon, 141–142; Laodameia, 148; spinners, 158; χρυσηλάκατος (Artemis), 167; ἀμύνω, 169–170; amber, 177; ἠλέκτωρ, 180; Agamemnon's sceptre, 181; Alexandros (Paris), 182; ἀλέα, 186; Trikka, 188; Enipeus, 197; Hyperboreans, 197; Μυσοί, 217. *See also Iliad; Odyssey; Catalogue of ships*
Horace, custos maximus, 191
Horae, and moon's phases, 211–212; original nature, 216; nine, 219; and Charites, 220–221, 223; dances, 224
Horsemen from the steppes, 57–58

Horses of Troy, 6–7, 57–58, 83, 167–168; and Herakles, 8; Phrygian, 21; Lykian, 26; fair at Gunen, 27; of Pandaros, 28; of Zeleia, 28, 68; sacrifice to rivers, 37, 60, 83–87, 168; of Echepolos, 39, 122; of Aeneas, 43–44; of Erichthonios, 44, 70, 79; stolen by Anchises, 58–59; horse-milkers, 62–63, 66, 199, 204, 219; of Demokoon, 74; and the Dead, 79; of Laomedon, 79; in the siege of Perinthus, 93; 109–110; of the Sun, 113; Dawn; of the gods, 120–121; in the spinning legend, 136; λευκοί, 159; of Pieria, 167–168; of Apollo, 204–205, 207
Houses, megara, 9
Human sacrifice, 132, 138
Hungary, metals, 9; horse-breeding, 62; Scythians in, 208
Husband, ἀλέκτωρ, 173–175
Hyginus, Hippasos, 63; Horae, 219
Hyllus river, 27
Hypate (Muses), 222
Hypatius, St., Artemis, 135
ὑπέρ and βόρα, Hyperborean, 201–209
Ὑπερβερεταῖος, Macedonian month, 201
Hyperboreans, wolf-cult, 30; offerings at Delos, 130, 132, 135, 137, 157, 197–198, 200, 203; cult of Leto, 154; geographical position, 178–180, 204, 206–208, 210; Hyperboreans (chapter heading), 196–210
Hyperenor, 66, 71
Hyperion Helios, 30, 112–115, 137–138, 170
Hyperionides, 97
Hyperoche, 130, 132, 135, 137, 157, 197–198, 200, 203
Hypocoristica, 45–46, 76, 152
Hypsenor (Hippasides), 63, 71
Iamenos, Iamos, Iasion, Iason, 187–188, 195
ἰάομαι, 188, 195
Iason, 42, 187–188, 195
Iatromantis Apollo, 13, 108, 115
Ida, Mount, 4; Lykians, 20; Empelos river, 37; Aphrodite, 39, 136; Aeneas, 41
Idaean Zeus, 75–76
Idaeus, the herald, 18
Ἰδαῖοι δάκτυλοι (peony), 103
ἰήτε Δάλτε Παιάν (*Oedipus Tyrannus*), 15
ἰητροὶ πολυφάρμακοι, 101
Ileus, 80–81
Iliad, building of the walls of Troy, 1–17; Dardanian genealogy, 10–11, 38, 54–55; Scamander, 14; Apollo, 14, 115; Hector and Poulydamas, 17–18; Maeonians, 27; ἀγκυλότοξοι, 28; Λυκηγενής, 29; Sarpedon, 32; Lykian burial, 33; Tenthredon, 35–36; Trojan names, 38, 69–82; sons of Antenor, 39; Echepolos, 39; Euphorbos, 40; ἀγχέμαχοι 48; πυργηδόν, 51–52; horses, 58–59, 67, 207; εὔπωλος, 59; ἱππόδαμοι, 60; ἐρέχθω, 61; Hypsenor, 63; epithets in ἵππο- 63–64; date of, 69–70; names in –andros, 71; names in -ηνωρ, 71–73; Laokoon, 73–74; Agastrophos, 79; Ilos, 80–81; Paeonians, 83–97; Helios, 88; physician's work, 99–100; Paeon and Cheiron, 101, 115; anthropomorphic gods, 106–107; Phaethon, 112; Phoibos, 115; names in –koon, 117; Leto, 151; λευκός, 159; ἐριβῶλαξ, 167–168; ἀμύνω, 170; Phorbas, 191, 194; Pan-

thoos, 194; Pelagon, 203; Abii, 204. *See also* Catalogue of ships; Homer, Ἴλιον εἰς εὔπωλον, 59
Ilios, name for Troy, 57, 80–81
Ilissus river, Muses, 217
Ilium. *See* Troy
Illyria, sacrifice to streams, 60–61; Paeonian invasion, 91; founding of Macedonia, 93–95
Illyrian immigrants in the Balkans, 55; prince, Baton; names in -ωνη, 152–153
Insanity, cured by the peony, 104
Inscriptions, on Apollo, at Sparta, 125; Artemis the queen, 131; Lenae, 162; 193
Io, birth-goddess, 154
Ionian Sea, 90
Ipeu and Lolo, 156
Iphidamas, 39, 73–74
Iphigenia, 138
Iphition, Maeonian chief, 27
Ireland, cock-magic, 172
Iris flowers, and Iamos, 188;
Isandros, 71
Issedones, Hyperboreans, 208
Ister river, 13, 125, 197
Italy, orientation of the dead, 26; Dardanians in, 55; horses, 60; spindle, 157; cock magic, 172; Phaethon-amber myth, 178. *See also* Rome
Ithaka, 65, 67, 164–165
Ithyphallic daemons, 165
Ixion, 194
Jade objects in Troy, 6
Jebb, ἀλέκτωρ, 175
Kadmeians, κέντορες ἵππων, 109
Kalathos of Artemis, 135–136
Kalchedon, 35–37
Kallichoros, dances in honor of Demeter, 223–224
Kalliope, 214, 219–221
Kallipolis, Anchimachos, 46
Kapys, 44–46, 119
Karambukai, 209
Karnak, Ramses inscription, 31 foot-note
Karpo, worship of, 211
Karystos, offering to Delos, 198
Kassandra, 69–71, 173
Kassandros, 71, 78
Kassanor, 71
Kassiterides (Isles of tin), 177
κάστα (peony), 103
Kastor, ἱππόδαμος, 65–66; Kassandros, 78
Kathartic power, Phoibos, 102
Kaukones, 83
καύεις (Koon names), 73–74
Kebriones, 66
Kekrops Amynandros, 185
Kelekish, Egyptian records, 31–32
Kellae (Kelle), home of the Eordaeans, 108
Κένταυρος (πλήξιππος), 66
κέντορες ἵππων (Trojans), 109
Kezedwedon, Egyptian records, 31 foot-note
Kheta, Egyptian records, 31 foot-note
Kiessling, Ῥίπαια ὄρη, 200; origin of Hyperborean, 201–202, 207, 209–210
Kilikes, Egyptian records, 31–32
Kimmerian myths, bora, 207
Kings, royal names, 81–82, 181–195; baptism in rivers, 86; king's touch, 183–184
Kirkagatch, carriage-road, 24
Kleio, 213
Klodones, 158–166
Klonios, 79
Klothes, the Fates, 166
Klymenos, 119–120
Klytios, genealogy, 17, 78, 122; a chthonic title, 44–45; and Klymenos, 119

χλυτόπωλος (Hades), 113, 120–121
–ko–, name-ending, 45
Koas, 74
κοεῖν (Koon names), 74
Koiranos, 181
–koon, name endings, 39, 74, 117
Korai, 14
Kore of Leto, 151–153
Korinna, Thespiae and the Muses, 223
Koronis, 143, 188
Koronos, 121–122
Körte, Amynos, Asklepios, 184
Kotys, 86, 88, 135–136
Kourotrophos, 105–106, 134–135, 142, 155
κράννα (Crannon), 35
Kreon, 193
Kreondae, 189, 193
Kreousa, 43, 144
Krestonia, 95–96
Kretschmer, Paeonians, 23, 91, 109; Lykians, 23; word endings, 35; names in –ko–, 45; Illyrians in the Balkans, 55; Troes giving name to Troy, 63; ἵππος, 68; origin of Hellenic tribes, 95; names in -ωνη, 152–153; the cock, 174
Kurgans, tumulus-folk, 6; steppe-folk, 58
κυνόσπαστος (peony), 103–104
Kyrene, 79
Lacedemonians, 74
Lada, woman, and Leto, 155
Ladon river, 14, 125
Lake Boebeis. *See* Boebeis, Lake
Lake-born chiefs, 27–28
Lake Doiran. *See* Doiran, Lake
Lake Dwellers, 92, 102
Lake Gygaean. *See* Gygaean Lake
Lakereia, health cult, 188
Lampos, 17, 44–45, 75, 119
Lang, Andrew, Aeneas, 41–42
Lao–, names 74–75, 117–119
Laodamas, 39, 73, 117
Laodameia, slain by Artemis, 131; epithet, 143; and Protesilaos, 148–150
Laodike, daughter of Priam, 74–75; offerings to Artemis; at Delos, 130, 132, 135, 137, 157, 197–198, 200, 203
Laodokos, 39, 79, 117, 121
Laogonos, 79, 117–118
Laokoon, 73–74, 117
Laomedon, building of the walls of Troy, 3–4, 8; and Aeneas, 11; genealogy, 17, 37 footnote, 44–45, 61, 69, 75, 78, 119–122; theft of horses, 58–60; origin of name, 73, 79, 117; Hades, 119; Apollo and Poseidon, 121
Laos, names 73–74, 78–79
Laphria, sacrifice to, 132–133
Lapis lazuli in Troy, 6
Lapiths, 48, 109–110
Larissa, Lapith prince of, 48; Lethus, 118; tomb of Alkestis, 146; Hermes, 190
Latium, amber, 177
Λατώ (Leto), 152
Latona (Leto), 152–153
Lawson, cock-magic, 172
Leaf, Walter, Lykians, 19; Zeleia, 25; Maeonia, 280; Sarpedon, 32; Ileus and Ilos, 80–81; the Axios in Homer, 87
Lebaea, 93–94, 98
Lefs, 73, 117
Legends. *See* Myths
Leibenus, Dionysus, 214
Leibethrides, Muses, 213–214, 217–218
Lelegians, in Pedasos, 32; Laothoe, princess, 75; Trojan war, 83
Lenae, origin of, 162–164, 166
Lenaia, festival, 162

Leschenorios, 72
Lescheos, Admetus and Meges, 124
Lete, town in Macedonia, 154, 165
Lethus (Teutamides), 118
Leto, wolf-cult, 30; and Artemis, 37, 136; birth-goddess, 37, 198; healing of Aeneas, 41, 101; ἀκέομαι, 115; moon the child of, 134; worship of, 151–156; coming to Delos, 200
Leukas (Dulichium), 65; seers of, 182
λευκός, 159
Liddell and Scott, ἀλέκτωρ, 173
Light-born, Λυκηγενής, 29
Lightning, the oak tree, 116
Lindsay, W. M., Latona (Leto), 152
Livy, Dardanians, 43, 47, 52–53; Macedonian phalanx, 52, 53; Baton, 56; lustration of the Macedonian army, 87; Eordaeans, 109; Hyperboreans, 203; Pelagonia, 204; Bermios, 204
Locheia (Artemis), 139
Locrian settlers of Ilios, 80
Locris, Hyperborean traditions, 203
Locusts, destroyer of, 30
Lolo and Ipeu, 156
Louvre relief, Apollo and Hermes, 222
Loxo, 154, 157, 198 foot-note
Lucian, ἀλέκτωρ, 174
Luka, Egyptian records, 31 foot-note
Lukioi, were-wolves, 30
Lukkeios, coins of, 102
Lustration. *See* Purification
Lycurgus, Dionysus, 166
Lydia, trade route, 26; kurgans, 58; καύειs (lefs), 73–74, 117; spinning legend, 135; worship of Hekate, 141
Lydias, giver of wealth, 167
Lykaon, 60, 75, 84
Λυκηγενής, 29
Lykians, 17–37; from Zeleia, 20; Lykian-born, Λυκηγενής, 29; Egyptian records, 31–32; war with Greeks, 51–52; names with ἵππος, 63; Trojan war, 83; nature-worship, 89; worship of Hekate, 141
Λυκοκτόνος (Apollo), 30
Lykomedes and Apisaon, 84
Lykophron, 76; Eordaeans, 109; metaphors, ἀλέκτωρ, 173–175
Lykos river, 21, 31, 37
Lykos (hero), 37
Lynkestis, 108
Lysandros, 71, 184
Lysimachus, and Ariston, 43, 55, 86
Maass, Ernst, 121; Aglauros, 212
Macan R. W., 135–136
Macedonians, wars with Rome, 38–41; closefighting, 52; Dardanians, 53; including various tribes, 55; names, 70–71, 76, 143–144, 182; lustration of army, 86–87; origin of, 93–96; Paeonians, 96; culture, 96; Teutamos, 118; Hyperborean traditions, 203; worship of the Muses, 218
Macestus river, 22–24, 34
Machaon, 99–100, 108, 114
Maeander (Maiandros) river, 13, 28, 125
Maeandros, 71
Maenads, 159–162
Maeonia, site of, 34; trade route of the Lykians, 19, 26; and Paeonia, 56
Maeonians, name origin, 27, 216; sun-worship, 28; ἱπποκορυσταί, 60; owners of horses, 83
Magic, healing, 14–16, 99, 102, 173; rain-magic, 88, 107, 140–

141, 221; the peony, 103–104; Medeia and Brimo, 134; black magic, Hekate, 141; Laodameia, 148–149; fertility, 154; power in women, 157–158; cock magic, 171–175, 183–184; springs, 222. *See also* Augurs; Crops; Mantic gift; Moon; Sun
Magnetes, Tenthredon, 35–36
Maiden-Trinities, Muses, 219
Maidens of Macedonia, Mimallones, 158–166
Malis, gulf of, 186, 198
μαλλός (Mimallones), 159–160
Malten L., name of Laomedon, 45, 78, 119; names in Lao- and -laos, 79, 117; chthonic names, 116, 122; Poseidon and Earth-mother, 120–121; horses of the gods, 121
Manchester Guardian, article on ancient and modern sacrifice, 140–141
Mannhardt, magic of crops, 157–158; Delian worship, 199–200
Mantic gift, Mysians, 21; and royalty, 82, 181–184, 195; Apollo, god of, 128–129; Muses, 222. *See also* Augurs
μαντικώτατοι (Mysians), 34
Mantinea, worship of Alea, 186
μαντοσύνη, and kingship, 181
Manyas, Lake, 20
Mardonius and Mus, 183
Mare-milkers, 62–63, 66, 199, 204, 219
Marriage myths, sun and moon, 147–149
Marshes, nymphs of the, 219
Mass-fighting. *See* Closefighting
Mastor, father of Lykophron, 76
Matriarchal names, Letoides, 155
Maximus of Tyre, Paeonian sun-worship, 98
Medea (goddess), and Brimo, 134; and daughters of Pelias, 199
Media, horse-breeding, 62
Medicine, Greek, 14–16, 98–110; god of, 101–102; amber-magic, 173, 176–177; Cheiron, 188; healing art, Thracian, 205. *See also* Magic
Mediterranean trade routes, 179–180
Medusa, 144
Megabazus and the Lake Dwellers, 92
Megara, Nordic type, 9
Meges, 65, 123
μειλίχιος (Leto), 154
Melampus, 73; divine healer, 187
Melancholy, cured by the peony, 104
Melanippos, 64
Melanthos, 87 foot-note
Melete (Muses), 223
Melpomene, 213, 221
μήνη (Moon), 143, 145
Menelaos, duel with Paris, 17; and Pandaros, 28; and Sarpedon, 33; and Euphorbos, 40; name ending, 78, 118–119; healed by Machaon, 99–100 108
Menidhi, amber, 177
μήνιον (peony), 103
μηνογένειον (peony), 103
Merope, 214
Merops, 75
Mesa (Mysians), 31 foot-note
Mese (Muses), 222
Mesthles, lake-born chief, 28
Mestor, son of Priam, 76
Mestula, 28
Metal work in Troy, 6; work in Thracian islands, 42–43; disks used in sun-worship, 88, 98
Metals, trade with Hungary, 9; supplies of, 54; Pelagonia, 204

Methana, cock magic, 172
Meyer, Eduard, names in *-ops* 75; Echelos as Hades, 77–78
Mice, totemism, 29–30; protection from, 127, 183
Michaelis, Apollo and Poseidon, 126
Midas, rose-gardens of, 204
Middle High German, mos, 217
Middlemen, Lykian traders, 20, 26
Military tactics, closefighting, 21, 46–56, 72; Dardanians and Mysians, 38; Myrmidons, 48–50, 52
Milk and fig-juice, 99
Milkers of mares, 62–63, 66, 199, 204, 219
Mimallones, origin of name, 158–166
Mining industry, Dardanian, 53–54; gold mines, 93
Minns, E. H., settlers in Olbia, 25
Minos (king), 37
Μινύα (Orchomenos), 67–68
Minyan genealogy, 67–68; Neleus, 78; ware, 81; Charites, 212
Mneme (Muses), 223
Mnestheus, πλήξιππος, 66
Moesi, sacrifice of horses, 87; Muses, 216–219
Moesia, Beithys, 45; nature-worship, 89; inscriptions, sun and moon worship, 106; Artemis the queen, 131
μοῖσα, μοισαί (Muses), 216–219
Molossi, Dryas, 182
Molossian names, Alexanor and Skopaios, 193; stables for Apollo's steeds, 204–205
Mommsen, Alexandra and Alea in Pindar, 186
Monastir (Herakleia Lynkestis), 108, 203
Months, Leschenorios, 72; Xandikos, 86; Bendideios, 135; Gamelion, 162; Hermaios (Hermes), 190; Bysios, 199; Ὑπερβερεταῖος, 201; moon-month dances, 223. *See also* Calendar
Moon, worship of, 12, 88, 125; the peony, 103; Hekate, 104, 132; Kourotrophos, 105–106; moon magic, 112–113; epithets, 112, 143; the oak, 116; Antiope, 122; Artemis, 131; Pheraia, worship at Pherae, 132, 145–146; the child of Leto, 134; Moon-mother and Earth-mother, 138–139; Artemis Locheia, 139; and Sun, 147–148, 156, 198; and the dew, 215; Charites, 221; dances, 223–224; moon year and sun year, 224. *See also* Phoibe
Moon's phases, in measuring time, 141–142; and marriage, 147; child-birth, 198; Charites and Horae, 211–212; Agriope, 214; increase to life, 219–220
Moosweibschen, 167
Moschos, Oiagrides (Muses), 217
Mould on grain, destroyer of, 30
Mounichos, 182
Mount Athos. *See* Athos, Mount
Mount Bermion. *See* Bermion, Mount
Mount Haemus. *See* Haemus, Mount
Mount Ida. *See* Ida, Mount
Mount Olympus. *See* Olympus
Mount Orbelos. *See* Orbelos, Mount
Mount Ossa. *See* Ossa, Mount
Mount Pangaeum. *See* Pangaeum
Mountains, seats of muse-worship, 218–219
Mouse. *See* Mice
μωύς (Muses), 216–219
Murray, Gilbert, 15–16; *et passim*

Mus, oracles of Apollo, 183
Muses, worship of, 90; Northern muses, 211–224; origin of name, 216–219; nine muses, 219–220, 223; dances, 223–224. *See also* Music
Music, Dardanian instruments, 53; god of, 101–102; lyre of Apollo, 196; Thracian, 205. *See also* Muses; Paean songs
Mycenaean arts of living, 11; court of Troy, 50 foot-note, 70; Minyan ware, 81; amber, 176–177
Mydonia, and the Paeonians, 96
Mygdonians, 20–21, 35, 93
Myres, J. L., tumulus-folk and the horse, 6, 62; Lykians coming to Troy, 19; pottery in Troy, 25–26
Myrmidons, 35; θεράποντες, 48; military tactics, 48–50, 52; ἀολλέες and ἀγχέμαχοι, 50
Mysia, trade route of the Lykians, 19; Yortan excavations, 24, 26, 58; Beithys, 45
Mysians, of Mount Olympus, 20–22; trade, 25; Zeleians, 27; Egyptian records, 31–32; Dardanians, 33–34, 38; ἀγχέμαχοι, 48; tribes, 56; names with ἵππος, 63; Trojan war, 83; nature-worship, 89; invasion of Europe, 90; kalathos procession, 136; Danubian, 199; Muses, 219
Mysians (play). *See* Aeschylus
Mysteries, Dardanos, 42
Myths and legends, growth of, 8; religious character, 42; oldest representation on coins, 43; Pieria, 87–88; sun and moon, 147–148; Laodameia, 148–150; amber, 176
Naiads, 37 foot-note; Dionysus worship, 162, 164–165
νάϊος (Zeus), 153
Name endings, -ων, -ωνη, and -δων, 35, 152–153; -ko, 45; -ys, 45; -ηνωρ, 63; -laos, 78; -bria, 119–120
Names, of plants, 35, 53–54; geographical, 35–36, 71, 79–81; Thracian and Phrygian, 45; with ἵππος, 63; Trojan, 69–82; of deities, 73, 111; tribal names, 79–81, 109–110; royal names, 81–82, 181–195; of physicians, 100–101; derived from animals, 109–110, 183; birth-goddesses, 154
νάω (νέω), words from, 165
Narona, 153
Nature-worship, 88–89; Pyraechmes and Asteropaios, 97; anthropomorphic gods, 106–107; Muses, 221
Nauck, ἀλέκτωρ, 174
Necklaces of peony roots, 104; gold and amber, 176
Neilo (Muses), 218
Neith, and Athena as spinner, 136
Neleus, epithets in ἱππο-, 65–66; genealogy, 76, 79, 120; and Basile, 77–78; Hades, 120–121; horses of, 121
Nemesis, and the Hyperboreans, 197
Nephalia, moon-worship, 137
Nereid, Thallo, 212
Nereus, daughters of, dances, 223–224
Nero, mimallones, 161; use of amber, 178
Nessus river, 13, 125
Nestor, and Diomede, 18; epithets in ἱππο-, 64–67; horse-breeding, 67; Hector, 69; Centauri, 110
Nete (Muses), 222

Nicander, Phaethon-amber myth, 178
Nicolaus of Darnascus, 136
Night, εὐφρόνη, 154
Nightmare, cured by the peony, 104
Nile river, 125
Nillson, mouse-slayer and totemism, 29; Lenaia, 163–164
Nish, road to the Hellespont, 42
νόμοι (festivals), 68
Nordic steppe-men, migration to Troy, 5–6, 57–58; invasion of Asia Minor, 9, 34; nature-worshippers, 12, 16; bringing the horse to Troy, 58, 63; Scythians, 198, 208
North Sea, Baunonia, 209
North Wind, 44–45, 197, 201–202, 210. *See also* Boreas
Northern muses, 211–224
Northerners. *See* Nordic steppe-men
Nukteus (Aesopus river), 122
Nymphs, Hesiod's list, 66; on Olympus, 90; sisters of the rivers, 125; Dionysus worship, 162–165; of Pieria, 204; of Moesia (Muses), 217
Νύσιον, 209 foot-note
Oak tree, Dryalus, god of, 104–105, 116; crown of Artemis, 131
Oath-taking, σφάγια, 171
Oceanids, dances, 224
Odyssey, ἐπαοιδή, 16; εὔπωλος, 59; epithets in ἵππο-, 65; Helios, 88; physician's work, 99; healing by incantation, 99; anthropomorphic gods, 106–107; Phaethon, 112; Neleus, 120; Telemachus, 126; naiads, 164–165; ἀλέξω, 170; Alektor, 171–175, 180; ἤλεκτρον, 176; πρηκτῆρες, 180; εὔσκοπος, 191; Diaktorides, 192. *See also* Homer
Oedipus Tyrannus, Paeon Apollo, 15–16
Oeneus, epithets in ἵππο-, 65–66
Offerings. *See* Sacrifice
Oiagrides (Muses), 217
Oileus, πλήξιππος, 66
Olbia (Olbipolitae), ὄλβος (wealth), 25
Olive tree given to Herakles, 197
Olizon (ὄλιζαι), 35
Olmeios, nymphs' bath, 213
Olympia, olive tree planted, 197
Olympic games, founding of, 147
Olympios (Zeus), 133
Olympus, Mysians, 20; Orchomenos, 67–68; gods of, 88; rivers and nymphs, 90; Hekate, 105; Hades, 111; epithets of the gods, 145; father of, 212; Leibethron, 214; Muses, 218–219
-ων, name-ending, 35, 152–153, 158–159
-ωνη, name-ending, 152–153
Onesandros (Onetor), 76
Onetor, name-ending, 76
-ope, name-ending, 214
Opheltes, 78
Opis (Oupis), offerings at Delos, 157, 198
-ops, name-ending, 75, 79–80, 214, 220
Opus, Amphidamas, 73
Oracles of Apollo, 23, 116
Orbelos, Mount, and Lake Dwellers, 92
Orchomenos, 67–68, 79, 212–213, 218, 221
Orestea, Argos, 94
Orestes (Macedonian noble), 66, 94–95
Orestis (tribe), 93, 95
Orgeones, of the river Caicus, 21, 34, 89
Orientation of the dead, 26
ὀροβάξ, ὀροβέλιον (peony), 103

Orpheus, 54, 88; and Eurydice, 143–144, 148–150; ὄρφνη, 144; sun-worship, 166; and Agriope, 214–215
Orphic rites, 161
Orthopolis and Poseidon, 121
Ossa, Mount, Aleuas, 187
Otrunteus, father of Iphition, 27
Oucalegon, 18
Oupis (Opis), 198
Ourania, 215, 219
Ouranos, 30
Ovid, fish in Halieutikon, 36
Padus river, 176, 178
Paean songs, 14–16; Trojan, 50; in Greek literature, 54; chants against evil, 59; chant of healing, 102, 108; song to Paeon, 107–108; to Apollo, 115, 196; averting of evil, 184–185; Muses and Charites, 221, 221
Paeon (Paeëon), physician of the gods, 14–16, 98–99, 98–102, 107–108, 111
Paeon-Apollo, 111–129
Paeonia, 83–97; and Dardania, 43; metal deposits, 54; Ariston, 55; and Maeonia, 56; Artemis Basileia, 145; ἐριβῶλαξ, 167
Paeonians, sun-worship, 12, 28, 98–110; builders of the Trojan wall, 13; settling in Troy, 19, 23; Zaieleoi, 23; origin of name, 27; word endings, 35; spears, 46; pikes, 51; river-bath, 53; Greek culture, contributions to Greek cults, 54; names with ἵππος, 60, 63; introduction of the horse, 68; Minyans, 68; Hippasides, 72; nature-worship, 89; river-worship, 90; Pannonia, 91; domination over other tribes, 95–96; women's offerings at Delos, 130, 132, 135, 137, 157, 197–198, 200, 203; kalathos procession, 136; health cult, 188; Hyperborean legends, 205
Paeonides, Agastrophos, 79
Painted ware, Tripolje, 6
Παιών, 91
Paioploi (tribe), 91
παισαίδην (peony), 103
Paktolo (Muses), 218
Paley, use of women's baths forbidden to men, 139
παμμήτωρ, Aeschylus, 13
Pamphylia, trade routes, 24; worship of Hekate, 141
Panchaea and Helixoia, 206
Pandaros, 18, 20, 28
Pandion, 37
Pandokos 117, 121
Pandroseion, dew-festival, 214
Pandrosos, dew-goddess, 211, 219
Pangaeum, Zaieleoi, 23; gold mines, 93; Pierians, 95; Orpheus, 166
Pannonia, and Paeonia, 91; sun and moon worship, 106
πανθικέρατον (peony), 103
Panthoos, genealogy, 17, 38–40; religious legend, 42
Paphlagonia, worship of Hekate; 141
Paris, duel with Menelaos, 17, 170; Alexandros, 69–71, 182
Parthenius river, 14, 125
Parthenon, Apollo and Poseidon, 126
Pasiphae, Cretan goddess, 112; Moon, 143
Patrae, sacrifices to Artemis, 132–133
Patroklos, slain by Euphorbos, 39; Sarpedon, 41; battle between the Trojans and Myrmidons, 49–50; ἱππεῦ, 66; Amphidamas, 73; Argeades Polymelos, 75, Epistor, 78; Pyraechmes,

83–84; Trojan war, 84; Podaleirios, 100; healing of Eurypylos, 102
Pauly-Wissowa, Macedonian spears, 46–47; Hyperborean legends, 200; Ῥίπαια Ὄρη 207
Pausanias, Titan and Pasiphae, 112; Alexanor and Euamerion, 113–114; Apollo Akesios, 115; Chthonia, 119; Klymenos, 120; Aegiale, 121; Admetus and Meges, 124; sacrifices to Artemis, 132–133; Athena's statue with distaff, 136; cock-magic, 172; offerings at Delos, 198; Charites, 211; sons of Aloeus and the Muses, 223
Payne E. J., the moon, 137
Peake, H., tumulus-folk and the horse, 6–7, 62; beginnings of Troy, 57–58
Pearson A. C., ἀλέκτωρ, 174–175
Pedasos and Pedes, Egyptian records, 31–32
πηγασίδες (Muses), 222
Peirene, Muses, 213
Peirithoos, 194
Peisanor, 71
Peisistratos, Amynos, 184
Pelagonia, 68, 93, 108, 203–205
Pelasgian Hippothoos, 64
Pelasgians, 83; Lethus, 118
Pelasgos, 118
Peleides, 85
Pelegon, 84–85
Peleus, epithets in ἵππο-, 65–66; horses of, 121
Pella, 203
Pelops, πλήξιππος, 66
Penelope, praise of the Trojans, 59; amber necklace, 176
Peneus river, 14, 90, 109–110, 125
Pentheus, *Xantriae*, 161–162, 166
πεντόβορον (peony), 103
Peony, medicinal use, 102, 110
Perdikkas, sun-magic, 93, 98
Perdrizet, nature-worship, 12; ethnic titles of gods, 100–102
Pergamon, trade, 20; road to Cyzicus, 23–24; Troes, 80
Pergamos, Panthoos, 194
Pergasos, 74
Periboia, wife of Axios, 100
Pericles, death in plague, 184–185
Periklymenos, 120
Perinthus, siege of, 93, 96
Perramos (Priam), 69
Περφερέες, offerings at Delos, 130
Περσε-, Persephoneia, 192
Persephone, cult-worship, 113–115, 140; Selene, 134; Eurydice, 144–145; genealogy, 156; Persephoneia, 192
Perses and Asteria, 133
Perseus, and the Dardanians, 52–53; Hyperborean land, 197
Persia, horse-breeding, 62
Persius, mimallones, 161
Περσικὸς ὄρνις, cock, 171
Peutinger table of roads, 24
Πεζέταιροι, 49
Phaenops, 75
Phaethon, Lampos 119; amber, 176, 178, 180
Phalanx, military tactics, 21, 46–56, 72
φάρκα (Pharkadon), 35
φάρμακα of the Axios dwellers, 102
Pharmakos ceremonies, cock-magic, 172
Phasis river, 13, 125
Phausios, 97
Pheidippos, 64
Pherae, Thessalian tyrants, 73; Hekate, Brimo, Artemis, 132; statues of Artemis Pheraia, 133; worship of Alkestis, 145–146; Hermes cult, 149

Pheraia (Artemis Basileia), 132; Artemis Pheraia, 133; worship of Hekate, 145; Leto, 155
φέρω, Bermios, 204
φιλησίμολπος, Charites, 213
Philip of Macedon, mass-fighting, 54, 96
Philostratus, Pentheus, 161–162
Philoxenus, Phaethon-amber myth, 178
Phocis, Abantes, 72
Phoebus, garden of, 210. *See also* Apollo; Helios
Phoenician amber necklace, 176–177; trade routes kept secret, 178–180, 204
Phoenix, epithets in ἵππο-, 65–66
Phoibe (the moon), 137–138, 142–143, 145, 150, 152–153, 155
Phoibos, kathartic power of the god, 102; sun-calendar, 128; Meredith's poem on, 129; and Phoibe, 145
Phoibos Apollo, 30, 115, 156
Phorbas, the Feeder, 123, 191, 194
Phorkys, naiads, 164–165
φωσφόρος (Hekate), 134
Photius, the sun-globe, 127
Phradmon, 78
Phrastor, 118
Phrygians, 20–22; word endings and names, 35, 45, 152–153; Briges, 56, 95; kurgans, 58; ἱππόμαχοι, 60; tumulus-folk, 62; horse-breeding, 62, 68; kalathos procession, 136
Phthia, 167
φθίσι (peony), 103
Phylake, worship of Protesilaos, 148
Phyleus, epithets in ἵππο-, 65–66
φυλιά (Phyliadon), 35
Physicians' names, 100–101
φυτάλμιος, 79, 123
Πίερες, southern Thracians, 205
Pieria, legend of, 87–88, 90; and Paeonia, 93; Macedonians, 95; spinners of, 157–168; nymphs, 204; Muses, 218–219
Pierides, Muses, 213–214
Pieros, 214, 223
Pikes, Dardanian, 50–51
Pimpleiades, Muses, 213, 217–218
Pisidia, trade route of the Lykians, 19–20
Pindar, Melampus, 73; Cheiron, 110; abode of the blessed, 114; Alexandra and Alea, 186; Iamos (iris), 188; Skopadae, 188–189; Herakles and the Ister, 197; Charites, 212–213; dew, 215, 222
Pindus, origin of the Macedonians, 95
πίθοι, 22 foot-note, 67
Plague. *See* Pestilence
Plant names. *See* Names
Pleiad, Celaeno, 37
Plato, sun-worship, 16; Persephone, 144; Amynandros, 185 Skopadae, 189; Skopas and Kreon, 193
Plexaure, 66
πλήξιππος, 66
Pliny, Rhyndacus river, 31; the peony, 102–104; moon's phases and superstition, 142; magic in spinning, 157; use of wool in medicine, 163; amber myth, 176, 178, 180; Hyperboreans, 206; Baunonia, 209
Plutarch, ἀγχέμαχοι, 48; close-fighting, 52; Abantes, 72; lustration of the army, 87; Teutamos, 118; moon and the sun, 147; Klodones, 158; Dionysus worship, 161; cock magic, 173; healing power of Pyrrhus, 183-184
Podaleirios, 99–100

Poetry, Greek, outside influences, 54
πόλιν ἐξέμεν (Echepolis), 77–78
Poliouchos (Polites), 77
πόλις, name-endings, 77
Polites (Poliouchos), 77
πῶλος (Echepolos), 64
Poltys, 34, 37
Polyaenus, Dardanians, 55; baptism of Ariston, 86; Teutamos, 118; Klodones, 158-163
πολυάνθεμοι, Horae, 211
Polybius, closefighting tactics, 52–53; sacrifice of horses, 86–87
Polybos, 39
Polydektes and Chthonios, 120
Polydorus, 75
Polygnotus and Meges, 124
Polyidos, 73, 181–182
Polymele and Hermes, 190
πολύμηλος, Phorbas, 191
Polymnia, 213
Polyxeinos, 124
Pomerania, amber trade, 176
Pontienus of Philadelphia, 174
πορνόπιος (Apollo) 30
Poseidon, builder of the walls of Troy, 3–4; 12; in Greek religion, 16; worship, 32, 37, 90, 193; protector of Aeneas, 41; and Dardanus, 44; a double of Hades, 45; protector of the Greeks in war, 51; Hipponoos, 63; and Apollo, 79; and Hades, 79; river-worship, 88; (chapter on), 111–129; and the Earth-mother, 120–121; γαιήοχος (Erichthonios), 123; Parthenon frieze, 126, 187
Poseidon Hippios, worship of, 27, 32, 43, 67–68, 70; sacrifice of horses, 61; Erichthonios, 70, 119
Pottery, of Troy, 7, 24, 58; Yortan, 24; indicating a caravan-route, 42; of the Tripolje culture, 58; Minyan, 81
Poulsen F., Leto (Lada), 155
Poulydamas and Hector, 18; genealogy, 39, 194, 42; name ending, 73
Pounder, emblem of women, 157
Prasias, Derrones, 102
Prayer-man, Euchenor, 181–182
Preller-Robert, river-worship in Asia Minor, 89; cult of Leto, 154–155
Priam, genealogical mention, 3, 8, 17–18, 55, 60, 63–64, 69–71, 74–77, 79; Hector's body restored to, 5; Dardanides, 10–11, and Aeneas, 11, 42; King Mygdon, 21; Panthoos, 38–39, 194; hated by Zeus, 41; famous mares, 64; head of several allied tribes, 91; Teutamos, 118; origin of name (Priamos), 119–120
Priestly names, 74
Παιών, 23
Proclus, the sun-globe, 127; Dionysus chthonian, 128–129; moon's phases and marriage, 147
Promachus (Alegenorides), 72–73
Pronona, 153
Prophecy, god of, 101
Propontis, tribes in, 20; trade route, 24, 26
Protagoras. *See* Plato
Protesilaos and Laodameia, 148–149
Prothoenor, 72, 79
Prudentius, cock magic, 172
Prussia, amber trade, 176
Pseudanor, Dionysus, 158
ψυχοπομπός, Hermes, 192
Purification, lustration, Kotys, 86; Macedonian army, 86–88; in Paeonia and Thrace, 125; women in childbirth, 138–139;

ritual, ἐναγισμός, 169; cock 172; bloodshed, 181
Pylian Neleus. *See* Neleus
Pylos among the dead, 11
Pyraechmes, 83–84, 91, 97
πυργηδόν (Greek military formation), 51 52
Pyrrhus, 173; king's touch, 183–184
Pythian god, Apollo, 212
Radet, trade routes, 24
Rain magic, 88, 107; sacrifices, 140–141; Charites, 221
Ramses inscription, 31 foot-note
Reiske, ποκάδων, 159
Religion, Dardanians, 34; character of legends, 42; Greek, outside influences, 54; in royal names, 82
Ren Keui, burial jars, 22
Reproductive life. *See* Childbirth
Rhesus, 67, 74, 202
Rhesus river, 4, 13, 125
Rhipaean mountains, 207
ῥιζοτόμοι, root diggers. *See* Sophocles
Rhodanus river, 177
Rhodesia, modern rain-sacrifice, 140–141
Rhodius river, 4, 13, 125
Rhodope, 214, 220
Rhyndacus river, 21–22, 31
Ribbeck, Dionysus Lenaios, 162
Ridgeway, Trojan horses, 44–45; Macedonian spear, 46
Rivers, undermining the Greek wall, 4; worship of, 12, 34, 37, 60, 70, 83–89, 94, 123, 125; Tethys, mother of, 13–14; made by Erichthonios, 44; consecrating baths, 53; Eridanus a name for, 177; bringing youth to manhood, 215, 221, 224; Muses, 216–217
Roads. *See* Trade routes
Robert, Echelos as Hades, 77; cult of Leto, 154
Rock crystal objects in Troy, 6
Rodaune river, 177
Roediger, Muses, 213, 215, 220
Rohde, Asklepios, 189
Romance, origin of, 148–149
Rome, Macedonian wars, 38, 41; road from Nish to the Hellespont, 42; Dardanians and Paeonians, 52–53; mining industry, 54; Artemis and Apollo, 131; Dyrrachium, 203–204. *See also* Italy
Root-diggers. See Sophocles
Roscher, Περσε-, 192
Rose, H. J., orientation of the dead, 26
Rose gardens of Midas, 204
Roses of Mount Bermion, 94
Rostovtzeff, M., Hyperboreans, 210
Roumanian myth of the Sun, 147–148
Royal names. *See* Kings
Sabazius, god of nature, 89–80
Sacrifice, animal. *See* Animal sacrifice
Sacrifice, human, 132, 138
Saioi (Saoke), 43
Sais, Neith, goddess of, 136
Salmoxis, and the Getae, 88, 202
σάλπη (Sarpedon), 36
Samos, 43
Samothrace, 42–43
Sandys, Xantriae, 161
Sangarius river, 14, 21–22, 58, 62, 125
Saoke, 43
Sardes, site of, 28; brothers bringing their sister to King Dareios, 90, 92; Lydian inscriptions, lefs, 117; spinning legend of Artemis, 136

Sarisa, Macedonian spear, 46–47–48, 50
Sarp (fish), 36
Sarpedon, 17–37; leaders of the Lykians, 32–33; origin of name, 34–37; and Zeus, 41; Trojan horses, 59; derivation of Hector's name, 76–78; Trojan war, 83–84; and Ares, 106, 107
Sartiaux, Felix, Phrygians, 21–22; horse-breeding in the Troad, 63
Satyrs, Dionysus worship, 162, 165
Sayce, Laos and καύεις, 73–74, 117
Scamander river, 4, 31, 125; personified, 14, 106; worship of, 37, 89; Dolopion a priest of, 75; combat with Achilles, 84–85
Scardona, 153
Sceptre, averting evil, 181
Schliemann, horses of Troy, 7
Schroeder, derivation of Hyperborean, 200–203, 209
Scotland, Antonine Wall, Dianae Apolloni, 131
Scythia, on a trade route, 208
Scythians, carrying the offering to Delos, 198
Seers. *See* Augurs
σέλας (Zelus), 23
Selene, 106, 111, 125, 134, 138, 143–145
σελήνιον (peony), 103
Seleukos, House of, 75
Selli, and Paeonians, 93
Σηλυμβρία (Zelus), 23
σῆμα (Ilos), 80
Semele, Eurydice myth, 144; and Dionysus, 166
Semitic traders, inventors of myths, 179–180
Sepias, Cape, 36
Serbia, road to Troy, 19
Serfs, of the Dardanians, 53
Serpents, on Olympus, 105; in the crown of Hekate, 131; sent to Admetus, 131–132; Melampus, 187; Iamos, 187–188; Aleuadae, 189
Servius, Oiagros, 217
Shields, in warfare, 51–52
Ships, Homeric catalogue of. *See* Catalogue of ships
Shock-battalions, Dardanian military tactics, 47, 50
Shrewmouse cult, 30. *See also* Mice
Sicily, 206
Sieve, emblem of women, 157
Sikyon, Echepolos, 39, 64; Aegiale, 121–122; sun-worship, 122–123; Artemis Pheraia, 133; shrine of Hera, 186
Sileni, forest spirits, 109–110; Dionysus worship, 162
Silver objects in Troy, 6, 10; Paeonia and Dardania, 54; studded armor of Asteropaios, 54, 86; and gold, palace in Sparta, 176
Simaetha, magic, 149
Simmias of Rhodes, Δωδώ, 153
Simoeis river, 4, 13, 125
Siropaiones (tribe), 92
Sisyphos, 32
Sitalkas (Apollo), 30; god of the grain, 127; kings of Thrace, 130
Skamander. *See* Scamander
Skamandros, 71
Skeat, derivation of king, 118; of moss, 216
σκεπ-, Skopas, and names in, 190, 195
Skopadae, Skopandros, Skopas, 188–195
σκοπός (mark), 192
Sky-worship, 88
Slaughter ritual, σφάγια, 169
Sleep, personified, 33
Smintheus, Sminthis, Sminthos, 29–30, 183

Smyrna, traderoute to Broussa, 24
Snake king of Athens, Kekrops, 185
Snakes. *See* Serpents
Sokos, 63, 72
Solon's poetry, 185
Songs. *See* Paean songs
Soothsaying. *See* Augurs
Sophocles, Apollo the wolf-slayer, 29; Euchenor, 73; Thracian sunworship, 98; *Root-diggers*, 103–105, 116, 131, 134, 188; Persephone and Artemis, 144–145; ἀλέκτωρ, 174–175; Herperborean myth, 210. *See also Oedipus Tyrannus.*
Σφζων, Thracian god name, 101
Spartan grave-inscription on Apollo, 125; palace decoration, 176
σπάσματα, cured by peony root, 104
Spear of Achilles, 41, 85; military tactics, 46–50; of Hekate, 105; of Artemis, 131
Spencer, Herbert, orientation of the dead, 26
σφάγια slaughter ritual, 169–172
Spinning, gold spindle of Artemis, 131, 167; legends, 135–136; spinners of Pieria, 157–168
Spirits of the water, 211–224; *See also* Rivers; Springs; Water
Sporades (islands), 64
Sportsmen, Paeonians, 96
Springs, worship of, 89; Apollo, god of, 129; naiads, 164; Muses, 212–218, 222. *See also* Water
σταδίη ὑσμίνη, 48
Star-goddess, Asteria, 133, 142
Statues, spindle symbol, 157
Stein, Hermes cult, 190
στήλη (Ilos), 80
στέμματα, 164
Stengel, chthonian offerings to the sun, 107; Helios not chthonic, 115
Stephen of Byzantium, Sarpedon, 34; σάρπη, 36; Troad names, 57 foot-note; Eordaeans, 108, 188; Δωδώ, 153; Leto (Lete), 154; Karambukai, 209
Steppe-men. *See* Nordic steppe-men
Sterope, 214, 220
Stilbe, 110
Stone slabs on burial jars, 22
Stonehenge, and Hyperboreans, 209
Stoss-taktik, German method of fighting, 46–47
Strabo, Zeleia, 20; Doliones, 21; Dardanos and Iasion, 42; Paeonian domination, 43, 95–96; ἀγχέμαχοι, 48; Attica and the Trojans, 70; Abantes, 72; Dionysus devotees, 162; Muses, 218
Strategos of the Aetolians, Skopas, 193
Streams. *See* Rivers
Strymon river, 13, 125; settled by Paeonians, 90, 93; Pierians, 95; Muses, 217
Sturtevant, E. H., derivation of Kentauros, 109 foot-note
Styptic, 99–102
Sucinus (amber), 178
Suidas, lustral bath, 86–87; 190
Sun, life and growth given by, 101; invocation to, 105; Helios and Hades, 111; Ὑπερίων, 112, 114; disappearance of, 121; sun-globe, use of, 127; sun-calendar, Phoibos, 128; and Hekate (Moon), 134–135; Roumanian myth, 147; sun and moon, marriage of, 147–148, 156, 198; sun-wheel, Ixion, 194;

sun-year, 224. *See also* Apollo; Helios; Phoebus Apollo
Sun epithets, Tithonos, Lampos, 45; Ὑπερίων, 112 Eridanus, 177
Sun god, Merops, 75 foot-note; Paeon, 101; harvest, 200
Sun magic, founding of Macedonia, 94; Perdikkas, 98; healing wounds, 113; Daphnephoria, 127; (chapter on), 169–180
Sun worship, 12–13, 16, 88; Paeonian, 23, 28, 98–110; and wolf worship, 29–30; Dardanian, 34; Greek, 54; chthonian, 107, 116; Balkans, 125; Orpheus, 166
Sun, Helios Elektor Hyperion, 180
Suttee, 140
Svoronos, J. N., Zaieleoi, 23
Swans of Apollo, 196; Hyperborean, 210
Sweeper, emblem of women, 157
Swine of Artemis, 135
Sword, military tactics, 48; of Asteropaios, 54, 86
συμφράττειν τὰς ἀσπίδας, 50
Syria, early culture, 58; horse-breeding, 62
Taboos, purification, 138–139, 157
ταχύπωλοι, 27
Tacitus, amber, 178
Tammuz (Anchises), 45
Taulantii, and Argaios, 158
Tauropolos, sacrifice to, 132
Tegea, worship of Alea, 186
Telemachus, and Apollo, 126
Temenos, Basile and Neleus, 77–78
Tempe, Hyperborean offerings, 203
Tenos, offering to Delos, 198
Tenthredon, 36
τέρμα, Great Bear, 207
Termessos, nymphs' bath, 213
Termilae (Tremilae), 31, 34 foot-note, 37
Terpsichore, 213, 221, 223
Tethys, mother of the rivers, 13, 125, 224
Teukrians, 90
Teukros, 76
Teuta, names derived from, 117–118
Teuthrania, Mysians, 34
Teutonic folk-lore, moosweibschen, 167
Thales, amber, 180
Thalia (Thaleia), 212-215, 219–223
Thallo, worship of, 211–212, 219
Thallon, I. C., 19, 38
Thamyris (myth), 54, 205
θαρρέω, θαρσέω, Darron, 102
Thasos, rich in metal, 42; relief of Apollo and Hermos, 222
Theano, 42, 73–74
Theia, sister of Tethys, 125, 138
Themis (chthon), 137, 145, 152
Theocritus, Simaetha, 149; Λῆναι, 164; Adamas, 195; songs in honor of great families, 189
θεόδμητοι, 10, 12
θεοδόντιον (peony), 103
Theodosius, mutilation of soldiers, 53
Theogamia, and the moon's phases, 147
Theogony. *See* Hesiod
Theophrastus, Macedonian sarisa, 50; peony magic, 104
θεός κύριος, ἥρως, physician of the gods, 100
Theriomorphic conceptions, 120
Thermaic Gulf, Aeneia, 43
Thersilochos, Trojan war, 91
Thespiae, nine Muses, 223
Thesprotia, Skopadae, 189
Thessalos, 64
Thessaly, Glaukos, 32; word-endings, 35; Tripolje culture, 58; horse-breeding, 62, 65;

tyrants, Pherae, 73; Melampus, 73; the Eordaeans, 93, 108–110; origin of the Macedonians, 95; Pelasgian names, 118; Pheraia-Hekate, 145; worship of Hermes, 149, 190, 193–194; Asklepios, 189; Hyperborean traditions, 203
Thomson, J. A. K., wooden horse of Troy, 61, 68; worship of Alkestis, 145–146; Admetos, 195; Muses, 217, 219
Thracian names, word endings, 35; types of names, 44; names with ἵππος, 60, 63; ethnic titles, 115–116; -bria, 119–120; -ωνη, 152–153
Thracians, tumulus-folk, 6–7, 62; sun-worship, 12, 98; Oucalegon, 18; tribes in the Troad, 20; wolf-worship, 29–30; Sarpedon, 34; rich in metal, 42–43; Beithys, 45; river-bath, 53; contributions to Greek religion and poetry, 54; kurgans, 58; horse-breeding, 58, 62–63, 68; hair-dressing, 72; Pergasos, 74; nature-worship, 88–89; Danubians, 95; Sitalkas, 130; women's offerings at Delos, 130, 132, 135, 137, 157, 197–198, 200–203; kalathos procession, 136; Hekate, Bendis, Brimo, 141; Artemis Basileia, 145; women's religious customs, 161; Delphian and Delian cults, 200; Ainos, 201; spiritland, 201; heaven, 202; Hyperborean traditions, 203, 205, 209
Throat diseases, amber magic, 176
Thucydides, Paeonia, 43; Macedonians, 95; Eordaeans, 109
Thyiae, Dionysus worship, 162
Thymbra, 83
Thymoites, 17–18
Tides, influence of Hekate, 133–134
Timber houses, 9
Time. *See* Calendar; Months
Tin, ornament on armor, 54, 86; Kassiterides, 177–178; trade, 204, 209
Tiryns, amber, 176
Titan at Titane, Tithonos, 45, 119; brother of the Sun, 112, 114, 122–123, 170
Titans, myths, 205
Tithonos and Titan, 44–45; and Dawn, 119
Titopolo (Muses), 218
Tityri, Dionysus worship, 162
Tlos, 31, 34 foot-note
Todas, childbirth superstitions, 138; emblems of womanhood, 157
Tomaschek, closefighting, 47; Aulo (ἵππο-), 63; Kentauros, 66, 109 foot-note; Orchomenos, 67–68; Paeonians, 90–91; Hyperboreans and Chinese, 208–209
-tor, name-endings, 76–78
Totemism, mouse-slayer, 29–30; the wolf, 30–31
Tozer, Eridanus river, 177; Phoenician trade routes, 179–180
Trade, of Troy, 6; Hungary and Cyprus, 9–10, 22; Lykians, 19, 26; Troad, 20; Olbia, 25; Greece and the Balkans, 80
Trade routes, 23; Smyrna to Broussa, 24; Nish to the Hellespont, 42; Phoenician routes kept secret, 178–180; Apollonia to Byzantium, 204
Trajan coins, Dardanian, 53
Trees, worship of, 89, 104
Tremilae (Termilae), 31, 34 foot-note, 37

Tribal names. *See* Names
Tribes of the Trojan battle-cry, 17–37; of Asia Minor, 31–32; the horse-taming Trojans, 38–68
Trieste, relief of Zeuxippos and Basile, 77
Trikka, Podalerios, 99; seat of healing, 108, 188
Trikkaios (Asklepios), 133
Tripolje, painted ware, 6; culture, 58
Tritone (Muses), 218
Troad, Apollo, god of, 5; Nordic steppe-men, 6; traders, 20; Pedasos and the Kilikes, 31–32; sacred rivers, 37, 89, 125; Dardanians, 38, 42, 56; names given to, 57 foot-note; worship of Hekate, 141. *See also* Trojans; Troy
Troes. *See* Troy
Troezen, cock magic, 172; Ardalides (Muses), 218
Trojan names, with ἵππος, 60, 63, 66–67; in the Iliad, 69–82; chthonic names, 116
Trojans, horses, 7, 45, 57–68; Trojan war, 17–18; "Tribes of the Trojan battle-cry," 38–56; Aegaeans, 43; military tactics, 49–50; songs, 50; war with Greeks, 51–52; from the Balkans, 69; Greek rulers, 69–70; nature-worship, 89; Paeonians, 91; spinning whorls, 136; kalathos procession, 136, 151; amber, 176. *See also* Troad; Troy
Trojans, worship of Poseidon. *See* Poseidon.
Τρώων βουλήφορε (Aeneas), 32
Tros (Tlos), 31, 119; gift of horses from Zeus, 59, 64; genealogy, 44–45; Alastor, 76
Troy, god-built walls of, 1–17, 70, 126; metal from Dardania, 54; Batieia, 56; pottery, 58; Troia a name of, 80. *See also* Troad; Trojans
Tümpel, Mimallones, 159
Tumulus-folk, migrations of, 6, 62
Tydeus, epithets in ἱππο-, 65–66
Tymphaia (tribe), 95
Tzetzes, ἀλέκτωρ, 173, 175
Usener, κοεῖν (koon names), 74; Artemis, 135; Delphian god and Leto, 200
Vardar river, 13; Paeonia, 43
Varro, muses, 217
Vegetation rites. *See* Crops
Vengeance, Erinyes, 171
Via Egnatia, 108, 203–204
Virchow, horses in Troy, 7, 58
Virgil, Panthoos, 194
Waldweibschen, 167
Walls of Troy. *See* Troy
Wasp, name of Tenthredon, 35–36
Water worship, 13–14, 16; Mysians, 27; nymphs, 66, 224; Dione, 153; spirits, 211–224
Wealth, ἀφνειοί, 25
Well-nymph, Aglauros, 211–212; Muses, 212
Were-wolves, Lukioi, 30
Wernicke, Leto (Lada), 155
White Island of Achilles, Crimea, 210
Wilamowitz, Macedonian names, 71; Leto (Lada), 155
Winds, worship of, 88; magic, 172
Wine-press, god of, 164
Wolf worship, 29–31; protection from wolves, 127
Woman-goddess, Leto, 37
Women, worship of Artemis Basileia, 105–106; slain by Artemis, 107, 131–132; childbirth

(Eileithuia), 134–135, 138–139, 153–157, 198; Aphrodite, goddess of, 136; emblems of, 157; power over crops, 160; Orphic rites, 161; amber magic, 176
Wooden horse of Troy, 61
Woodpecker, protector of the peony, 104
Wool magic, 157–165; ποκάδων, 159; carders, 161, 163
Woolley, C. L., 58
Words, construction, endings, etc. *See* Names
Wrasse (fish), 36
Xandikos, spring month, 86
Xanthe, 31, 57 foot-note
Xanthioi, 30–31
Xanthos (Xanthus), divine name of the Scamander, 31, 37, 87 foot-note
Xanthus river, Lykians, 18–20, 27, 30–31, 34, 37; purification in, 87; worship of, 89
Xantriae, origin of name, 158, 161–162, 166
Xenophon, Daskylitis, 25
Xerxes, Eordaeans, 109
Year. *See* Calendar; Months
Yortan, culture, 22; excavations at, 24, 26; Tripolje pottery, 58
Youth growing to manhood, Apollo and the rivers, 125–127; nymphs, 215; Muses, 221, 224
Zaieleoi (tribe), 23
Zeleia (Zelia), 20–23; site of, 25, 34; Mysians, 27; sun-worship, 28, 116; horse-fairs, 68
Zelus, 23
Zeus, warning of Poseidon, 3; Διὸς δ'ἐτελείετο βουλή, 5; protector of the Trojans, 8; Dardanus, 11, 41; Korai, 14; covetousness of Diomede, 26; Achilles, 27; Sarpedon, 32, 41; Aeneas, 41, 44; gift of horses to Tros, 59, 64; Idaean, 75–76; river-worship, 85–86; rivers as guests at Olympus, 90; nature-god, 106; and Hades, 111; sky-god, 116; Epopeus, 122; and Artemis, 131; Olympios, 133; Kourotrophos, 134; his wives, 151–152; Dione, 153; presents to Apollo, 195; olive tree, 197; Hyperboreans, 198–199; father of Olympus, 212; dancing on Helikon, 213; and the dew, 215, 221; Mysia, 219; moon-month dances, 223
Zeus Hyperberetaios, 201
Zeuxippe and Sikyon, 122
Zeuxippos, 77–78, 113, 122
Zeuxo, 66
ζωθάλμιοι, Charites, 211

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